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"FAIRVIEW"

James Van Dyke Moore, the author of the "Trip West," published in this issue of DELAWARE HISTORY, *was born in "Fairview," near Odessa. The house was built in* 1773 *by Moore's grandfather, Capt. James Moore (Brevet Major) of the Delaware Continentals, according to information from the grandson during his lifetime* (1807-1900). *Descriptions of the house, which appeared in newspaper advertisements and on maps of the nineteenth century, make it one of the rural landmarks in New Castle County. Mr. and Mrs. George F. Kelly, its present owners, who lent the photograph of the house for the above illustration, are in the process of restoring the house and grounds to their original condition.*

James Van Dyke Moore's Trip to the West, 1826-1828

Edited by MARIE WINDELL*

BALMY days in early March, 1826, brought out young shoots of grass and willow leaves, drifts of pear and peach blossoms scented creek orchards on the peninsula, and Delaware farmers anticipated the good fortune of an unusually early spring.[1] The rising sap in awakened trees could be matched, particularly among the young bloods, by the fever for going west. So it was that nineteen-year-old James Van Dyke Moore of Cantwell's Bridge, now Odessa, Delaware, set out with a twenty-five-year-old cousin, Enoch Van Dyke,[2] and Abraham Cartwright,[3] a former settler in Appoquinimink Hundred who had come from the West in 1825 and who was now returning in the following spring.

While Moore's trip to the West was concluded by his return to Delaware "the state where I was borned and lived all my life," his leaving at this time was not untypical. Delawareans had invested in lands in Ohio for speculative purposes soon after the Revolution.[4] At the close of the War of 1812-14,

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1. *Delaware Gazette* (Wilmington), Apr. 14, May 16, 1826; *Niles Register* (Baltimore), Mar. 8, May 10, 1828.

2. Enoch Van Dyke was born Feb. 3, 1801, according to the Moore family Bible Records in the possession of Moore's descendants. Mrs. William C. Spruance of Wilmington, Delaware, a granddaughter of Moore, kindly permitted the use by the editor of the records of the Moore family referred to here and below. Van Dyke was a taxpayer in Appoquinimink Hundred, New Castle County, Delaware, from 1820 to 1825. In 1823 he owned eight head of livestock. The tax assessment lists mentioned throughout this article are filed with the Public Archives Commission, Dover, Delaware.

3. The will of Isaac Cartwright, probated Aug. 24, 1789, lists two sons, Abraham and Jacob Cartwright. Abraham Cartwrite [*sic*] was one of the executors of the will, probated Dec. 19, 1789, of Jacob Cartwrite [*sic*], a farmer of Appoquinimink Hundred, Wills of New Castle County, Vol. N, pp. 52-53, 82-83, Office of Register of Wills, Wilmington, Delaware. Jacob, Jr., was a taxpayer in Appoquinimink Hundred in 1807, but Abraham does not appear after the American Revolution in the tax lists filed with the Public Archives Commission. Abraham separated from Enoch Van Dyke and James V. Moore at Pittsburgh to go to Lake Erie.

4. See, for example, the Duff Papers, Manuscript Collections, Historical Society of Delaware.

with the Indian frontier more nearly pacified, the stream of emigration to the West widened and deepened. Among Delaware farmers, the lure of the western virgin lands resulted in a westward drift that kept the level of population stationary between 1810 and 1820.[5] Farm values were not augmented by a progressively increasing demand for Delaware land, that an expanding population would otherwise imply, and the hard times of the depression of 1819 also accentuated the competition with western products, which were, for example, threatening to push Delaware from first place as a producer of the best white wheat in the country.[6]

The words of Samuel H. Black in 1818 may have been emotionally weighted to ensure popular support of the local Agricultural Society in New Castle County, but his speech reveals one aspect of the situation that made migration to the West an agreeable choice for the Delawarean: "Our land for the last fifty years has done little more than starve its proprietors, or driven them to a sale of it." He foresaw the westward movement of the population to be so great that he feared Delaware would be deserted in a few years.[7] The editor of the *Delaware Gazette* reported in 1826 that "A few years ago the rage for emigrating from the Atlantic states to Ohio, threatened a material diminution of our laboring population."[8] Another critic estimated that before 1828, 7/10 of the state's arable land, excepting the meadows on the Delaware River, was able to produce "scarcely twenty bushels of corn or ten bushels of wheat per acre," figures which ill compared with the reported thirty and twenty-five bushels, respectively, of these crops produced per acre in the West.[9]

Professional men also felt that the "West would be the

5. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth from the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790-1900* (Washington, D. C., 1909), p. 57. The population increased by only 75 in the decade, 1810-1820 (72,674 in 1810; 72,749 in 1820). The total was 76,748 in 1830.

6. Flint, Timothy, *The United States and the Other Divisions of the American Continent* (Cincinnati, 1832), p. 71.

7. Black, Samuel H., *Memoirs of the Agricultural Society of the County of New Castle* (Wilmington, 1820), I, 22.

8. *Delaware Gazette*, June 2, 1826.

9. Recollections of Anthony M. Higgins, quoted in Scharf, J. Thomas, *History of Delaware, 1609-1888* (Philadelphia, 1888), I, 435; Flint, James, *Letters from America . . .* in Thwaites, R. G., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (Cleveland, 1904), IX, 82.

best place for [them]" as Dr. John Hamm, formerly from Kent County, Delaware,[10] admitted to Moore when the two met in Zanesville, Ohio, where the former had settled. With this initial impulse, Hamm and his family had set out, bestowed in a "no top" wagon, to which he had added poles covered with muslin, all of which was drawn by two ponies. This makeshift beginning had a satisfactory conclusion, for the physician by 1827 was a noted Ohio politician and well-to-do farmer.

If better times in the mid-twenties loosed rising enthusiasms and revived spirits in the East, so did visions of such profits to be made from rich new lands for those who joined the westward migration. In this atmosphere, then, our hero set forth on foot with his two companions for the West, despite, however, the disapproval of his guardian and uncle, Jacob Van Dyke. A distrust of that premature spring, which aroused young spirits as well as young sprouts, may have added to the

10. Dr. John Hamm was the son of John Hamm, a farmer of Little Creek Hundred, Kent County, Delaware, and a friend of the Rodney and Ridgely families of Dover. Col. Thomas Rodney, who was one of the trustees of John Hamm's will, which was probated May 16, 1798, mentions the activities of members of the Hamm family in his diaries, which are in the manuscript collections of the Historical Society. In 1793 John Hamm, Sr., was chosen a member of a committee to meet in Dover to nominate a governor. Diary of Thomas Rodney, June 23, 1795. In addition, see entries of May 24, June 5, 1795; Aug. 12, 1797; Mar. 15, 1802. Rodney also composed a short essay on the etymology of the family name for his friend John Hamm, which is in the manuscript collections of the Society. Dr. Hamm studied with Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia. He owned a house in Dover in 1803 but last appears in the tax lists for Little Creek Hundred in 1802. Upon his removal to Ohio, he went first to Chillicothe, where he was appointed the orator of the day on July 4, 1809. He came to Zanesville soon after and held an extensive succession of offices; in 1812 he was a member of the legislature and a presidential elector; in 1813 he was a surgeon of the 27th U. S. Infantry; he succeeded Lewis Cass as marshal of Ohio; and he was elected a state senator of Ohio in 1827 and 1829. When Jackson visited Ohio in 1829, an anti-Jackson congressman, S. F. Vinton, reported that a committee composed of John Hamm of Zanesville, Elijah Hayward of Cincinnati, and "all their gang" had counseled Jackson in regard to Ohio affairs. The following year Jackson appointed Hamm to be charge d'affairs to Chili, where he concluded the first treaty between the United States and that government. Prominent among Ohio Democrats, he was one of the sponsors of an Oregon Convention held in Cincinnati, July 5, 1843, which favored the reoccupation of Oregon. When Moore visited in Zanesville, Dr. Hamm was one of ten physicians in the city, which had a population of 3,094 by 1830. Hamm had eight children and died in Zanesville, May 22, 1861, in his eighty-fifth year. Will of John Hamm, Vol. A 21, Liber N, pp. 151, 178-83, Folio 203-7, Public Archives Commission, Dover, Delaware. Everhart, J. F., *History of Muskingum County, Ohio* . . . (Columbus, 1882), pp. 62, 106, 141; Gilkey, Elliot H., *The Ohio Hundred Year Book* . . . *1787-1901* (Columbus, 1901), p. 267; Weisenburger, Francis P., *The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850* (Columbus, 1941), pp. 238, 240-41, 259, 483, published as Vol. II of Wittke, Carl, editor, *The History of the State of Ohio;* Kilbourn, John, *Ohio Gazetteer* . . . (Columbus, 1833), p. 503; deValinger, Leon, Jr., and Shaw, Virginia E., editors, *A Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters 1742-1899* . . . (Dover, 1948), I, 249.

natural hesitation of an uncle, weighted with the responsibility of having reared the orphan James. The succeeding hard freeze of mid-April[11] and James' absence for two years must have strengthened his uncle's certitude until, of course, the successful return of the young traveler in 1828.

Walking tours to the West were not uncommon, though perhaps less so than travel by horse for the traveler unencumbered by family and possessions.[12] Lewis Cass, for example, had as a poor boy of seventeen left Wilmington on foot, like James, to seek his fortune in Ohio. Upon the triumphal return of Cass to Delaware in 1848, as Democratic nominee for the presidency, his example of independent youth was lauded in local newspapers and may well serve here as a secondary tribute to Moore. "Here is an example," declaimed the editor of the *Delaware Gazette,* "that is worth to [his youthful hearers] . . . more than the teachings of the schools."[13] It would seem that such an encomium of Cass was rather embarrassing for Delaware, since he, unlike Moore, remained permanently in the West.

James Van Dyke Moore was born, August 9, 1807, in "Fairview," a two-story brick house dominating a rise about one-half mile south of Odessa, then Cantwell's Bridge, on the Old State Road. The house had been built in 1773 by his grandfather, Captain James Moore, who served in the American Revolution as an officer of the Delaware line.[14] In 1816 "Fairview" was described by the tax assessor as "good" with a "good Barn & stables" on a farm 171 acres in area. This land was a portion of an original patent of four hundred acres to Robert Tallant by Colonel Francis Lovelace, dated February 26, 1671. In the next century the land

11. Winter ice returned on April 12. The editor of the *Gazette* particularly regretted the loss in the lower part of the peninsula of peaches, "the most delicious fruit which our country produces." *Delaware Gazette,* Apr. 14, May 16, 1826.

12. Flint, *Letters from America,* p. 67.

13. Cass had taught in the Wilmington Academy before his departure from Delaware. *Delaware Gazette,* May 25, June 23, 30, 1848.

14. The year 1773 for the construction of "Fairview" was the date given by James Van Dyke Moore; *Every Evening* (Wilmington), Aug. 10, 1897; Jan. 3, 1900. State tax records in the 1770's do not itemize houses and lands. Heitman, Francis B., *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783* (Washington, D. C., 1914), p. 399; Moore Family Bible Records.

changed hands many times, as is detailed below[15], including a confirmation of a grant by Edmund Andros and a patent by William Penn.

Captain Moore, who served in the Delaware line until the close of the Revolution, was the son of Francis Moore of Pencader Hundred, New Castle County, who was included among those of that hundred who suffered damages inflicted by the British army in 1777. His brother-in-law, William Crawford, in his will, signed December 12, 1757, mentions among others, his sister Rebecca, his brother-in-law Francis Moore, and the latter's sons, James, the Revolutionary captain, and William. [16]

Captain James Moore was commissioned January 19, 1776, a first lieutenant in Captain Nathan Adams' (Sixth) Company, Colonel John Haslet's Regiment of Delaware State Troops in the Continental service. Commissioned captain, on December 2 of that same year in Colonel David Hall's Regiment, he ranked next to Robert Kirkwood in seniority. He was taken prisoner at Newtown, New York, January 20, 1778, along with Lieutenant Peter Hyatt, and held on Long Island. The capture was described by a friend of his as follows: "that same Morning the Enemy in their return took my peculiar [i. e., particular] Friend Capt. Moore

15. "Fairview," valued in 1816 at $2736.06, was owned by Dr. Richard C. Dale, the second husband of Major Moore's wife, Tax Assessment List for Appoquinimink Hundred, 1816. Lewis Johnson acquired the 400-acre tract from Tallant and in turn assigned it to Bezaliel Osborne, whose grant was confirmed by Edmund Andros, July 26, 1675, and by William Penn, Jan. 26, 1684. The land was described as lying in the county of New Castle on the west side of the Delaware River and on the southeast side of "Apoquonimi" Creek, bounded on the northwest by that creek, on the southwest by the land of Lewis Johnson, and on the two opposite sides by the main wood. The owner was to pay four bushels of winter wheat yearly for each one hundred acres to the proprietary governor in New Castle on Jan. 10. *Original Land Titles in Delaware, The Duke of York Record . . . 1646 to 1679* (Wilmington, 1903), p. 154; Penn Patent to Bezaliel Osborne, Jan. 26, 1684, Public Archives Commission, Dover, Delaware. The land was assigned by Osborne's heirs to John Healy, July 13. 1704, who assigned it to Cornelius Cooper, who assigned it to John Demerst, Oct. 1, 1716. The tract then descended from Charles Robinson to his son Charles and daughter Mary, the wife of Philip Hanson, whose son William received his mother's portion, and who conveyed it to Major Moore in 1773. Scharf, *History of Delaware*, II, 1016.

16. *Delaware Archives, Military* (Wilmington, 1911), III, 1194; Wills of New Castle County, Vol. I, p. 55. Letters of administration on the estate of Francis Moore were granted, Aug. 24, 1780, to his widow Rebecca. Wills of New Castle County, Vol. L, p. 205. In her will, signed Mar. 24, 1796, Rebecca Crawford Moore listed her children, three daughters and four sons. *Ibid.*, Vol. O, p. 150.

of Delaware state, the seventh Day presbyterian of whom you may have he[ard] me spe[ak]."[17]

Upon his release by exchange in December, 1780, he returned to Delaware and was recommended by those Delaware troops still in captivity as an authority who might offer a "particular account of our Sufferings" to President Caesar Rodney.[18] In April, 1781, he was sent by President Rodney to Colonel David Hall to determine whether Hall planned to take "an active part in this more important business," i. e., the southern campaign that resulted in Yorktown in October. As Moore and Hall were the two oldest officers then in Delaware, Moore was chosen as the confidential agent for the transference of such information; Rodney was to be informed of the plans and the troops were thereupon to convene at Christiana Bridge to await marching orders.[19]

In November, 1781, Captain Moore was appointed superintendent of recruiting in Delaware, for the colonials were not yet convinced of their success in arms. In the meantime he was also apprehending deserters and supervising the nursing of the sick, among others of the latter, a Stephen Durrell who was "in the smallpox." Such activities required funds and supplies, and despite the intent of the legislature, which is indicated by the grant of £700, Moore petitioned the representatives in June, 1782, that "if your honors cannot provide such supplies" he desired to be excused from duty. In February, 1783, he was ordered by the Assembly to continue recruitment and authorized to draw up to £550 for his expenses.[20]

After the close of the war, he became a charter member

17. *Delaware Archives*, I, 34, 36, 89, 90, 105, 284; Ryden, George H., editor, *Letters to and From Caesar Rodney, 1756-1784* (Philadelphia, 1933), Letter to John Dickinson, Dover, Apr. 17, 1779, p. 298; Black, Jeannette D., and Roelker, William G., editors, *A Rhode Island Chaplain in the Revolution* (Providence, 1949), Letter XX, Valley Forge, Feb. 3, 1778; Heitman, *Historical Register*, p. 399.

18. Letter from Silas Snow, Flat Bush, Long Island, Nov. 8, 1780, Ryden, *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney*, p. 388.

19. Letter to David Hall, Apr. 20, 1781, *Ibid.*, p. 405.

20. *Delaware Archives*, I, 534, 659-70, 575-76, 606; III, 1340; *Governor's Register, State of Delaware . . . 1674-1851* (Wilmington, 1926), pp. 27, 29, 30; Capt. James Moore's Address to the Legislature, June 19, 1782, Morse Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Delaware.

of the Delaware chapter of the Society of the Order of the Cincinnati, organized in 1783, and served as assistant treasurer and Delaware delegate to the general meetings of the Society.[21] Breveted major on September 23, 1783, Moore retired to his farm, "Fairview," where he and his son James, Jr., appear as taxables in Appoquinimink Hundred. In addition, he served as the agent for the *Delaware Gazette and Eastern Shore Advertiser* in the winter of 1794-95.[22] He died in the spring of 1802 and was survived by his widow, Margaret, and children, James, Maria, Rebecca and Eliza.[23]

We know much less about James, Jr., the father of James Van Dyke Moore. He was born July 25, 1782, and married Milcah Ann Van Dyke May 8, 1805. According to manuscript family data, compiled during his son's lifetime, James, Jr., was described as a "free liver, of lively disposition, and not given to money making."[24] He died on December 6, 1807, and his wife followed in death, May 14, 1815, thus leaving

21. Institution of the Order of the Society of the Cincinnati, dated 1783. The original document, owned by the Delaware Chapter, is on loan to the Historical Society for exhibition in the Old Town Hall. Capt. James Moore's signature is among those composing the list of officers of the Delaware line in 1783 who were members of the Chapter. Moore was delegate in 1784, 1787, and 1788. Bellas, Henry H., *A History of the Delaware State Society of the Cincinnati* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, No. 13, Wilmington, 1895), pp. 14-15, 27, 67.

22. *Delaware Gazette and Eastern Shore Advertiser* (Wilmington), Nov. 26, 1794; Feb. 4, 1795. Moore appears in the advertisement as a colonel, surely a civilian promotion of courtesy.

23. James Moore and Margret [*sic*] Ramsay were married on May 7, 1775. *Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Delaware . . . 1697 . . . 1810* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, No. 9, Wilmington, 1890), p. 743. Moore was a member of Old Drawyers Presbyterian Church and had contributed £6 in 1769 to the erection of the church. Foot, George, *An Address embracing the Early History of Delaware . . . and of the Drawyers' Congregation . . .* (Philadelphia, 1842), pp. 35, 39. Because of his close connection with that church, and our having no evidence to the contrary, it is believed by his descendants that Moore was buried in the Old Drawyers cemetery north of the church among the unknown dead. The will of Maj. Moore was dated Jan. 21, 1802, and proved, Mar. 8, 1802. His wife Margaret and Abraham Staats of Appoquinimink Hundred were appointed administrators. His son James received the home plantation, a tract of 35 acres, and a plantation which had belonged to Maj. Moore's brother William. Wills of New Castle County, Delaware, Vol. P, pp. 90-91. Eliza Moore, the daughter of Maj. Moore, died in Wilmington on July 16, 1849, at the age of about fifty-five years. *Delaware Gazette*, July 20, 1849.

24. Moore Family Bible Records. The manuscript, now in the possession of Moore's descendants, is in the hand of an interested friend of the family, who compiled it during the lifetime of James V. Moore. In September, 1794, James Moore, perhaps Maj. Moore's son since the name appears without the title, offered for sale a negro couple: the man had been brought up on a farm, and the woman was a good house servant. *Delaware Gazette and Eastern Shore Advertiser*, Sept. 27, 1794.

to her brother, Jacob Van Dyke, the orphaned James to rear. In a log house on a two-hundred-acre farm in Appoquinimink Hundred, owned by his uncle, James Van Dyke Moore spent his adolescence.[25] It may readily be imagined why young James and his wife were so eager to purchase the homestead in which he had been born, once it was placed on the market in 1837 by the heirs of his grandmother's second husband, Dr. Richard C. Dale.[26]

The following account of his trip to the West by Moore, which was well known to members of his family, is now in the possession of his descendants. A copy of the original was secured for the Historical Society by the courtesy of Mrs. William Corbit Spruance of Wilmington, a life member of the Society. Its publication was assured by the enthusiasm of Miss Gertrude Brinckle, executive secretary of the Society, whose good fortune it was to read the original. The Society is indebted to the descendants of Mr. Moore for permission to publish the account, and the editor wishes to acknowledge her gratitude to Mrs. Spruance not only for her interest but also for her assistance in furnishing Bible records and family memoranda.

How, when, and with what memoranda, the author prepared the account are unknown factors. The style, dialog, and exact detail indicate compilation from notes taken en route, an extremely reliable memory, or both, plus, perhaps, an accentuation of situation by prior repetition, if the account were written much later than the journey.

Despite these unknowns, we do gain from the recital a reflection of the personality of young James and of his times.

25. Tax Assessment List for Appoquinimink Hundred, 1816. The will of Jacob Van Dyke, of Appoquinimink Hundred, dated June 19, and proved June 25, 1847, mentions his wife Mary and lists eight children. Van Dyke described his farm as lying both east and west of the road from the levels to the forest. Wills of New Castle County, Vol. U, pp. 459-60. He died at the age of sixty-one and his wife Mary in 1855 at the age of fifty-four. Tombstone Records of New Castle County, Public Archives Commission, Dover, Delaware.

26. The house was advertised for only two weeks in January, 1837, by John Dale, "one of the most worthy, respectable and intelligent citizens" of Port Penn, New Jersey. *Delaware State Journal* (Wilmington), Jan. 17, 31, 1837); Dale, who had been removing his interests from Delaware in 1837, left Port Penn for California in the gold rush of 1849. *Delaware Gazette*, Feb. 2, 1849.

He was eager, buoyant, resolute in his convictions or desires, notwithstanding his affection for his uncle and concern for the latter's opinions. That same determination to make his way on his "own hook" forbade requests for funds while in the West. Moreover, the opportunities that the West offered strengthened his freedom to choose to work since he could bargain with his employer in the brickyard in Canton, Ohio, for example, that he worked from choice, not necessity.

He had the healthy appetite of a young man, no doubt sharpened by the physical exercise involved, and so we enjoy the mention of chestnuts along the way in the Alleghenies, the amusing sauerkraut anecdote, the wild turkey and roast beef lunch served at a tavern for 12 1/2 cents, the "Waffels" and "Fride" chicken at his Aunt Polly's, and the strawberry party in Ohio, complete with sugar, cream, and "plaits" for the berries eaten in the field.

His most pervading characteristic was perhaps his energy, a vitality that kept his mind active until the close of his life at ninety-three years.[27] Once on his own in the West he worked not only to maintain his independence but also to escape boredom. Though admittedly no axman, he could plough with precision, and besides assisting his relations on their Ohio farms, he worked in as varied pursuits as a sugar camp, a brickyard, a flour mill, a store, and the management of the logging and construction of a section of a bridge across the Muskingum River.[28] His only complaint regarding the physical exertion of the walking tour is implied by his firm resolution that he did "not intend to walk home."

His effervescent enthusiasm, while it frequently tended to result in the application of "splendid" to scenery, towns, or a Virginia politician, no doubt contributed to his forming fast friendships along the way. In part, hospitality to him was first offered by those emigrants from Delaware who welcomed him for the sake of his more recent departure from

27. *Every Evening*, Jan. 3, 1900.

28. His laboring along the way was not unusual, for a Pennsylvania farmer inquired of James Flint if he knew "any traveller who would rest himself and thrash [*sic*] for a few days!" *Letters from America*, p. 80.

the same state and of hearing familiar names become endeared by strange surroundings. But thereafter both they and non-Delawareans cherished him for his own qualities, and we have, for example, the charming picture of him and one of his employers, sitting before a fire in a tan house and singing together by note from a songbook, James with his nearly blistered hands reprieved from his ax, while for a last touch of indoor comfort, snow fell outside. In Zanesville, Dr. John Hamm, an Ohio state senator, after enthusiastic exchanges of Delaware names — Spruance, Cummins, Cloak, and Mansfield — became his intimate friend, eager to help him, willing to establish him on one of the physician's own farms if only he would remain in the West. Such an attitude of a man well established in Ohio politics and in his profession toward a young man of nineteen or twenty indicates the tribute Dr. Hamm was paying to Moore's character as well as, of course, to their common background.

Other characteristics of Moore's personality and interests flicker constantly from the page. His humor was dry, ironic, but not too frequent; Enoch and he, upon their meeting a Methodist in Canton, were immediately taken into the fold and became "Methodists notwithstanding." In one emergency while crossing a flooded Ohio river, probably the Muskingdum, he had enough presence of mind to rescue a team of horses and wagon loose on the water, in addition to an hysterical girl companion. "I had to hold on to the wagon and the horse and the girl too," he admitted ruefully, "I had my hands full certin." He appreciated a dramatic situation, such as that presented by the returning Enoch Van Dyke to his wife Judy in eastern Ohio: "I shall never forget there [*sic*] meeting," their cousin mused.

His relationship with Enoch is rather surprising, considering that he was the younger of the two. Though together, it was James who hunted for work and upon finding it became the leader of the two men, he who with a borrowed seven dollars in his pocket at the outset gave Enoch fifty dollars to begin housekeeping. Enoch's illness for a month in Pittsburgh may have snapped his ingenuity as well as his en-

ergy, but whether James furnished the leadership because of Enoch's recent illness or because James was the author of the tale, it was the latter, nevertheless, who sat down before the brickyard in Canton to investigate the yard's possibilities and who determined to stop to work. No doubt recuperating Enoch must have been relieved to rest from the jaunt, but one marvels at his patience, waiting for James to "make a little more" when the two were so near their goal. Enoch confessed later to James' Aunt Polly Van Dyke that he had to exert pressure at that point to urge James westward. James, who had found Canton "a beautiful town, Land roling and rich" had not heard from his relations and hence felt conscience-free to do as he wished.

In the West, James enjoyed himself at parties and frolics, a strawberry party, and a flax pulling. Despite his first shyness with strangers at a frolic in Ohio, he soon found them "very nice young ladies" and very attentive to him. The reader wonders if the marriage of his Cousin Milcah Ann and "an old man" may have been in part promoted by his attentions to Miss Owens "one of the prettiest little girls [he] ever saw," particularly after the enthusiastic welcome Milcah had given him.[29]

The development of young James in his two years in Ohio is evidenced by changes in him during the latter part of his stay. His naivete shown on the way west — his fear of "large deer" in the Alleghenies and his ready acceptance of the apparent excuse given by the acute captain of the steamboat on the Ohio to clear the decks of spectators under foot, that is, his alleged fear of an immediate explosion — have disappeared. The trip west, made with friends and relations, had not forced him to foresee or consider many problems. For the return, however, he had learned that he wanted pleasant companions, a horse to ride, and an adequate income, and hence the quiet bickering with Mr. Stite,

29. James' appreciation of the beauty of Miss Owens, whose family was formerly from Baltimore, bears out Fordham's description of Ohio women, who, he said, were pretty but those "above the common standard" [in talents of conversation] were "ten to one" emigrants from the East. Fordham, Elias P., *Personal Narrative of Travels in Virginia . . ., Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky . . . 1817-1818* (Cleveland, 1906), p. 193.

the horse drover whose goal was to reach the Philadelphia market. The danger of horse stealing in the valley of the Ohio, which was considered to be the "greatest thoroughfare of banditti in the Union"[30] made James' contribution as assistant to the drover all the more valuable. James had also achieved greater acquaintance with his own capabilities; he recognized that he would do his best and would assume extra responsibilities, so that with the help of his friend Dr. Hamm, he was able to raise his salary to a point which Moore considered adequate, $25 per month, an amount, to judge from contemporary wages, that was not low.[31]

To contrast, then, with the picture of hilarity in March, 1826, of the three men tossing up their hats for joy in a lane in Kent County, we have in the summer of 1828 the exhibit of conscientious work by Moore on his return but also his adroit resignation of his role in the horse train when he once more was in the state of his birth. His pleasure in his "splendid fur hat" and his horse, however, echoes the early theme of the gay young traveler set in the beginning of the account.

The multiplicity of James' interests and activities provides a social commentary on the life of his times, extending from the prayer meetings on Sunday afternoons in Delaware farmhouses to a charivari in the Ohio backwoods. His attention was particularly caught by the appearance of a Separatist community in Ohio, founded by German immigrants from Wurttemberg who had purchased in 1817 some 5,500 acres in Tuscarawas County. The village of Zoar with its log barns and dwellings roofed with red tiles was considered noteworthy by commentators other than Moore. Unable to sustain themselves on the frontier by individual effort, the two hundred settlers had adopted a constitution to hold and share all property in common.[32] Although Moore described the

30. Flint, *Letters from America*, p. 167.

31. Laborers who were employed on the Ohio canal during this period were being paid between $8.00 and $10.00 per month. Howells, William C., *Recollections of Life in Ohio from 1813 to 1840* (Cincinnati, 1895), p. 139.

32. Howe, Henry, *Historical Collections of Ohio* . . . (Cincinnati, 1847), pp. 492-93.

village gardens, he misplaced the location of the village; it actually was eleven miles north of New Philadelphia rather than between that county seat and Zanesville. Despite James' religious interests, he did not mention having attended a camp meeting in the West, the most dramatic characteristic of frontier worship and particularly common among the Methodists. Timothy Flint, whose *Geography* was compiled contemporaneously with Moore's travels, reported that of the vast number of religious societies there were not many which had regular pastors. The chances were that Moore heard itinerant preachers in the West.[33]

However, James did participate in frolics and a backwoods play, social activities common on the frontier. In his case, the frolic centered about a flax pulling whereby the guests provided the labor to pull the ripened flax in the patch and spread it on the ground to rot and bleach.[34] These neighborly meetings were usually followed by feasting and dancing, such as the one that James enjoyed until its conclusion at three o'clock in the morning. Fortescue Cuming, an earlier traveler in the Ohio valley, once ascertained from the gaiety of a group which he met on the road that its members were apparently returning from a similar frolic.[35]

In some frontier neighborhoods, particularly where dancing was less common, plays of various character were held. Moore does not give us a hint of the particular ones he witnessed, but among others, "Sister Phoebe," "hunting the thimble," "Pussy wants a corner," and "Marching to Quebec" were popular in Ohio. One raconteur of tales of early days in Ohio considered "Sister Phoebe" to be the favorite,[36] and considering the following verse it is not difficult to see why:

33. Flint, Timothy, *A Condensed Geography and History of the Western States . . .* (Cincinnati, 1828), p. 405.

34. Welker, Martin, *Farm Life in Central Ohio Sixty Years Ago* (Tracts of the Western Reserve Historical Society, No. 86, Cleveland, 1895), p. 57. Flax and maple sugar received considerable attention in the early period of settlement in Coshocton County, where Moore's cousins had settled. Hunt, William E., *Historical Collections of Coshocton County, Ohio . . . 1764-1876* (Cincinnati, 1876), p. 84.

35. Cuming, Fortescue, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country, through the States of Ohio and Kentucky . . .* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IV, 141-42.

36. The backwoods "play," which Moore is referring to, is similar to children's games of the present. Welker, *Farm Life in Central Ohio*, p. 49.

Sister Phoebe, how merry were we
When we sat under the juniper tree;
Put this hat on to keep the head warm,
Take a sweet kiss, 'twill do no harm.

The wide variety of Moore's occupations encourage an inspection of the frontier economy and of the towns which he visited. Most of the period during his stay in western Virginia was spent in the Leese sugar camp. If that family followed the usual procedure of frontier camps, the sap was gathered from the trees by tapping with an auger or gouge; spiles, such as sumach, sassafras, or elder, were driven into the hole; and the sap was drained into troughs hollowed out of split logs, usually of cherry or ash. The "sugar water" was then boiled in big iron kettles set in the open air.[37] The labor of a sugar camp continued at night, as James was warned, in order to maintain the boiling of the sap at a more or less constant temperature for the time necessary to reduce it to a point at which it would granulate upon cooling. The hilly terrain of Leese's four-hundred-acre farm was an advantage in raising sugar maples, for such a location was reputed to improve both the quality and quantity of the sugar.

The farm of Mrs. Stradley, the widow from Delaware, then living perhaps eight miles from Coshocton, Ohio, who, incidentally, also had her own sugar camp, represented frontier living to young James. Half of her 160 acres was in cultivation, and that at the expense of plowing around the trunks of dead trees which had been notched and had died. Such a mournful sight convinced James and his companions that they were in the "backwoods sure," a belief that was shared by other travelers as well.

The wheat and flax grown by the Stradley sons, if they pursued the usual farm methods of that area, were sown broadcast by hand, covered by the triangular wooden or iron tooth harrow, and dug in with the mattock around the stumps and trees. Corn, and the potatoes here, no doubt, were planted around the trees by hand, covered with the hoe, and cultivated with the shovel plow and the hoe. The plow-

37. Howe, Henry, *Historical Collections of Ohio* . . . (Norwalk, 1896), I, 685-86.

ing, of which James was so proud, was probably done with a one-horse shovel plow. The cast iron plow was introduced into Ohio agriculture in 1819 from New York and was being manufactured in Canton in 1827 when James was there, but unfortunately, with all his multiple skills, he does not note that possible occupation.

For the reaping of their wheat, the Stradley sons relied on the sickle, the scythe, and perhaps the backbreaking cradle, a tool which was well established in use in Ohio before 1830. James in helping his cousins on the farm might have assisted in the threshing of the wheat, then done with the flail with its treacherous supple, which occasionally hit the laborer on head or shoulders. Since it took a farmer most of the winter to thresh the product of a ten-acre field, James' labor was no doubt highly valued by his cousins on those cold winter days, which were usually considered to be the best threshing time.[38]

On his return to Delaware, Moore participated in one of the most colorful aspects of travel on western roads—the drovers' companies riding to eastern markets. His detailed description of the method of march is similar to that termed "a la mode Lafayette" and noted as new in the spring of 1825. Usually such groups, averaging about twenty head per herd, traveled about twenty-two miles a day.[39]

Having returned home in time to cast his first vote for the Democratic candidate for president in 1828, Andrew Jackson, Moore could boast at the age of ninety that from the time of reaching his majority in August, 1828, he never missed a presidential election in his hundred. He remained a Democrat until the election of Taylor in 1848 and then by way of the Know Nothing party joined the Republican party to which he was attached until his death.[40]

38. Walker, *Farm Life in Central Ohio*, pp. 30-32; Jones, R. L., "The Introduction of Farm Machinery into Ohio prior to 1865," *Ohio State Archeological and Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, 5-6.

39. Jordan, Philip D., *The National Road* (Indianapolis, 1948), pp. 247-48, quoting the Engelbrecht diary, Mar. 25, 1825. Engelbrecht was traveling on the National Road, a route followed in part by Moore on his way west.

40. *Every Evening*, Jan. 3, 1900. In 1828 the Jackson ticket lost in Appoquinimink Hundred, and a Democratic minority was elected to the Delaware legislature. *Niles Register*, Oct. 11, 1828.

He appears to have been most active in politics during the decade, 1845-55. He served as a member of the Levy Court for New Castle County from 1843 until 1851.[41] As a member of the Know Nothing party, he was elected representative for New Castle County in the state legislature in 1854, the year of Democratic defeats in the county.[42]

During his service in the legislature, he was active from the first day of his appearance. At first he seems to have been most interested in facilitating the parliamentary procedure, but his primary service concerned his chairmanship of the committee which investigated the condition and record of the Milford Bank. The boast was made in the gubernatorial inaugural address of 1855 that never before had a Delaware state bank failed, but in that year Delaware was faced with the ignominy of seeing her record broken by the institution in Milford,[43] a situation lightened perhaps by the non-Delawareans involved. Moore's committee, after an investigation of the activities of the bank and its records, charged that the bank had suffered the election of pretended stockholders as directors, fictitious payments on capital stock, an imaginary increase of stock, plus the appointment of agents in New York, thus removing effectively all control of the bank from Delaware. After the report by the committee, the legislature by a unanimous vote repealed the charter.[44]

Moore's other legislative activities centered about the temperance agitation in Delaware in the fifties. His support of the "Act for the suppression of intemperance," which passed the House by an affirmative vote of only 11 to 10, made its success possible.[45] Earlier he had been active in

41. Minutes of the Levy Court of New Castle County, 1835-1844, 1845-1855. Public Archives Commission, Dover, Delaware. Moore appeared as a new member on Feb. 7, 1843, and was last present in November, 1850.

42. *Delaware Gazette*, Nov. 17, 1854.

43. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Delaware, at a Session of the General Assembly, commenced and held in Dover . . . in . . . 1855* (Dover, 1855), pp. 6, 65, 69, 126, 225, 251, 258, 270-71, 285-86, 307, 316, 327.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 213-17, 224, 258, 302.

45. The law permitted the issuance of only three certificates in any hundred and five in Wilmington to sell liquor for "Mechanical, Chemical and Medicinal purposes only." *Laws of the State of Delaware . . . 1855* (Milford, 1855), pp. 273-81. The law was repealed in 1857. *Laws of the State of Delaware . . . 1857* (Milford, 1857), pp. 348-49. Its passage helped to defeat the Know-Nothing party in Delaware in 1856.

presenting petitions from various citizens of the state concerning such action by the legislature.[46] The reader will note in Moore's account of the trip west his approval of the lack of liquor at the backwoods frolic held at the home of Mr. Owens, a temperance man formerly from Baltimore. His attitude in 1855, therefore, on this subject seems not to have been merely the result of the Delaware activity in the fifties of the Maine League, a national society organized for promoting the passage of prohibitory and temperance laws. Moore served the full term of sixty-two days while in the legislature and was rarely absent from committee meetings. Despite his conscientious service, he did not run for re-election in 1856.

Primarily, Moore, whose land bordered Appoquinimink Creek, was a farmer with some interest in shipping. Upon his return from the West, he married and began farming near Odessa. Family memoranda indicate that in 1831 he shipped lumber, wood, staves, and ship timber on his own vessel, the "Sally Ann Townsend," to northern markets. Unfortunately, the vessel was rammed and sunk by a collision with the steamer "Kent," on the latter's return from Philadelphia to Smyrna Landing.[47] Thereafter his major interests turned to farming.

In 1837 he purchased from John Dale, an heir of Dr. Richard D. Dale, the Moore homestead, "Fairview," which was described in that year in an advertisement in the *Delaware State Journal* to be a "fine brick dwelling house, about 60 feet front, with a two story brick kitchen and smoke house attached." The advertisement ran for only two weeks, and quite understandably so, considering that the owner could recite such advantages as "any person . . . must observe the pleasantness of its situation, its capability of improvement, and the advantages of its nearness to markets, churches, schools, &c. together with a constant communication between Cantwell's Bridge and Philadelphia, by packets."[48]

46. *Journal of the House . . . 1855*, pp. 96, 80.
47. MS in Moore Family Records.
48. *Delaware State Journal*, Jan. 17, 1837.

Moore was a member of the Agricultural Society of New Castle County in 1857[49] and joined the State Agricultural Society, the first such society for the state, organized in 1849.[50] In addition, he participated in the great development of peach culture in Delaware in midcentury.

Soon after 1840 large orchards spread out along Appoquinimink Creek from Odessa down toward the river, and Moore was at one time a large peach grower on the peninsula.[51] The variety, known as Moore's Favorite, was reported to have originated in his orchard.[52] Dr. John J. Black, in his recommendation of varieties of peaches to be cultivated on the Delaware and Chesapeake peninsula, described the Moore's Favorite peach as a white freestone, "elegant to ship, with a beautiful blush, and altogether desirable for profit." It was a "grand peach," he reports for our tasting, and while not so free a bearer as the Old Mixon, which it preceded in ripening by a day or two, it was like the Old Mixon "in flavor . . . facile princeps among peaches." This peach, if easily first for flavor, ripened around August 23 in the latitude of Wyoming, Delaware, and hence in Moore's own orchard about August 25, if Black's calculations may be followed.[53]

James Van Dyke Moore's religious interests, which are indicated in his account of his trip west, were strong throughout his life. In the revival meeting of 1830, after which he joined the Methodist Church in Odessa, he was one of a group of young men who were converted as a result of the persuasive appeals of "Mother" Scott, the mother of Bishop Levi Scott.[54] He was the only person to be a member of both the building committee and the committee to raise funds for the construction of a church in 1833, and he served on both committees when a second church was built and dedi-

49. *Act of Incorporation; Constitution, and List of Members of the New Castle County Agricultural Society* (Wilmington, 1857), p. 11.

50. Scharf, *History of Delaware*, I, 437.

51. *Ibid.*, I, 442.

52. *Every Evening*, Jan. 3, 1900.

53. Black, Dr. John J., *The Cultivation of the Peach and the Pear on the Delaware and Chesapeake Peninsula* (New York, 1887), pp. 111-12, 122, 153-201.

54. Scharf, *History of Delaware*, II, 1006-7.

cated October 23, 1852.[55] Among Methodist itinerant ministers, his home "Fairview" was known as the Methodist hotel in that vicinity.[56]

On January 29, 1829, he married Rachel McMurphy (April 13, 1809-May 10, 1880), and from this marriage had the following children: (1) James Andrew (November 9, 1829-April 24, 1853), a graduate of Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia and a physician who practiced in Leipsic, Delaware, until his death as a victim of typhoid fever; (2) Elias Naudain (November 22, 1832-May 23, 1927), a state representative in 1864; (3) Thomas Martin (May 8, 1836-August 1, 1920) of Philadelphia; (4) Alfred McComb (February 5, 1838-September 2, 1933), of Royal Oak, Md.; (5) Mary Elizabeth (March 24, 1843-June 20, 1934), who married George W. Sparks of Wilmington; (6) Adelaide (January 7, 1846-October 15, 1888), who married Preston Lea, later governor of Delaware. Three other sons died in childhood.

Moore died, January 3, 1900, in Wilmington, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. George W. Sparks, and was buried in the cemetery of St. Paul's Methodist Church in Odessa. The funeral oration given in "Fairview" paid tribute to his "strong, well built, robust form . . . his genial nature, his generous impulses, his warm hearted friendliness, and careful habits,"[57] all of which sparkle from the following pages of his account of his trip to the West in 1826. In order to facilitate reading, the recital has been broken into paragraphs, none of which appear in the original; otherwise the manuscript version is printed verbatim. The pagination of the manuscript is inserted in brackets. As Moore wrote on the cover of his account, "Read it."

55. Bishop Levi Scott dedicated the cornerstone of the present church. *Ibid.*; Zebley, Frank R., *The Churches of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1947), p. 188.

56. MS compiled during the lifetime of James V. Moore by one of his friends. Moore Family Records.

57. Rudolph Genealogies, p. 20, Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Delaware; Moore Family Records; *Every Evening*, Oct. 15, 1888; *Delaware State Journal*, May 6, 1853.

Trip West, 1826

In the year 1825 Abram Cartwright came from the West and intended to return in the Spring of 1826.

I becam[e] quite anxious to go with him, and mentioned the matter to my Uncle Jacob Vandyke who after the death of my Mother took me to raise when I was only Seven years old. I was treated by him just as Kind ["buy him" deleted by author] as he did his own children. I lived with him until I was near eighteen years old, and I loved him as a Father. My Father died when I was only five mo[nths] [page 2] old and I *felt Sad to* live [leave] him. I could not git his consent for me to go, and I was very anxious to do So. in the Month of March I told my Uncle the time to go West was near at hand I wanted him to agree for me to go but he would not and to prevent me would not give me any funds.

I went to See Cartwright and told him it was very doubtfule whether I could go. My Uncle was very much opposed to my going and would not give me any money. if I had funds I would go. Cartwright then said I do not like to insist upon your going against your Uncle['s] will, but if you conclud[e] to [page 3] go, I will let you have funds enough to take you to Ohio, and if you hav[e] good Luck and can pay me you can do so, if not I will give it to you. I am very much oblige[d] to you, I will go and pay you if I can, if not you you [*sic*] will have to take the *will* for the *deed.* Only six days to get ready in. I then told my Uncle I was going West with Enoch Vandyke and Abram Cartwright. he asked me what I would do for money to pay my expences. I told him I would Stop on the way, and work for Some.

On the 6th day of April 1826 we left Delaware. My Uncle ha[n]ded me three dollars all the money he had in the house and told me to write [page 4] to him, and he would Send me some money. he did not know I had made arangment for funds to take me out. I did not write to him for money, concluded to try and make my way on my own hook. I bid all good buy and put out.

Enoch Cartwright and I had made arangment to meet at Major Rothwells[58] Woods Lane at ten A. M. they got there before I did, begin to think I was not coming — when they Saw me they through up there Hats,

58. Maj. William Rothwell of Appoquinimink Hundred had been commissioned, June 10, 1813, ensign of the Second Company, Third Regiment, Delaware Militia. He resigned as major on May 9, 1828. *Governor's Register*, pp. 112, 258. Maj. Rothwell was a vice president of the Agricultural Society of New Castle County, which met in Wilmington, May 7, 1836. Scharf, *History of Delaware*, I, 433.

and So did I. We then Set down on a Log to talk a little befor[e] we Set out on our *Long Walk* Cartwright Said Now Jimy I will give Sev[e]n dollars to start with and if that is not enough I will give you [more?] [page 5] All right I will pay you *if I can*

We went to Elkton[59] that day Stop[p]ed at a Hotel kept by a man by the name of Notts. I [k]new him as soon as I saw him. We asked if we could Stop over night with him he said we could. after Supper he asked where we ware from and where we ware going. We told him we Ware all from Delaware and was going to Ohio. he Said [he had?] Reside[d] in Delaware about five years Since. I told him I [k]new him as Soon as I Saw [him] he [said] I have been at your house often to Prayer Meeting Sunday afternoon. he said I think I Know two of you. he was Sitting by me, I think this is James V. Moore and this is Enoch Vandyke the other young man [page 6] I do not Know am I right. You are right, Sir, I am *very glad* to See you! how is your Uncle Jacob they were *old friends.* the next Morning we call for our bills. Not one cent I am so glad to see [you] I would Just as Soon charge my own sons as you. We told him we were very much oblige[d] to him *Not at all he said.*

We then went to habbity grass[60] put up for the night next day we put out for Baltimore[61] I do not remember now how many days we ware on the road for that place. the day we arrived was about Noon Call for a Lunch left at 3 P. M. took the Baltimore and Ohio Turn Pike. was soon amongst the Mountins [page 7]

When we came to the Allegany Mountin we Met a Man on horseback. he told us if we would leave the pike and take a Short Cut over the Mountin by the way of a foot path we would Save Some fifteen Miles walk. We did So. The Senery on the top of the Mountin was *Splend*[*id*]. I saw for the first time Some seven or eigh[t] Larg[e] Deer I felt Somewhat afraid of them. Cartwright Said they would [not?] hurt us and clap[p]ed his hands togeather and away they went over the hills. We Saw a great Many Chusnuts in the crevis of Rocks had been there all winter protected by the leaves. We fil[l]ed our pockets they were *very nice.* When we got over the Mountin and ent[ered?] [page 8] the same pike we saw a Large Hotel it was

59. Elkton was well built, according to Jedidiah Morse in 1820. At that time it contained a courthouse, jail, bank, and a Methodist church. Morse, Jedidiah and Richard C., *A Universal Gazetteer, or Geographical Dictionary* . . . (New Haven, 1821), p. 240.

60. Havre de Grace contained forty or fifty houses in 1820. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

61. Baltimore, from a population in 1770 of 300, had grown rapidly to 62,627 by 1820. *Ibid.*, p. 83. The city was thronged with migrants to the West because it was the most convenient landing for Europeans who were going west. Flint, *Letters from America,* p. 115.

near noon. we cauld for a Lunch, the Land Lord Said Dinner was redy walk in the Dining Room. had a *big Dinner* paid 12 1/2[62] each Wild Turkey and Rost Beef at that—

we then went to Union Town[63] a *Splendid* Town in the Mountin; Stoped half day; we then went South West for Morgain County,[64] Virginia. We went up Cheils River[65] for two or three days. hugh Hills and Rocks on both Sides. Near the head of this River Jacob Cartwright resides. We got there about Sun Set. he had an old Lady by the name of Cousin Catty Crouch Keeping house for him. I [k]new her when She resided in Duck creek near Smyrna. I have been at her house often She Sold Cakes.[66]

[page 9] We ware expected there for Some time. Cousin Catty Said *Jim* I am going to give you Something good for your Supper Something you never had, thank you Cousin Catty, there was a barral siting in the house near the fire place. She got a large Meat fork took her frien Pan and commenced fil[l]ing it with the Contents of the barral. She Said Jim do you Know what this is no Cousin I do not — I Smell it, what does it Smell like it Smells like our Swill Tub. She turned around and Said I give you *Swill Tub,* you *little Raskel* and run me out of the house it was *Saurcraut* She got us up a good Supper and [page 10] and the Saurcraut [tasted?] much better than it Smelt.

Jacob Cartwright had a brother Isaac living about seven miles from him[67] I was over there *often* they got up a party of young folks, while I

62. Moore's notice of the price of a dinner may be compared with a night's bill at one of the better houses in the Alleghenies charged on August 10, 1819, to a group of English settlers for the West: 37½c each for supper or lodging. Welby, Adlard, *A Visit to North America and the English Settlements in Illinois* . . . in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* XX.

63. Uniontown, Pennsylvania, a well-known point on the National Road, which envigorated it, was justly popular because of its inns. Lafayette and Santa Anna had lauded the Walker House, and drovers' flocks and herds not uncommonly choked the streets of the town. Jordan, *The National Road,* pp. 109-10, 256.

64. Morgan County, Virginia, had been organized in 1820. Howe, Henry, *Historical Collections of Virginia* (Charleston, 1852), p. 386.

65. The word in Moore's handwriting appears to be "Cheils" but may be Mills, referring to Mills Creek, or Cheat, referring to Cheat River, both of which lie in Monongalia County.

66. Catty Crouch, who once lived in Smyrna, a great stopping place for years for teams on their way to Smyrna Landing to unload grain, may have had a small shop like "Aunt" Hetty Johnson, who sold beer and cakes to the drovers. Scharf, *History of Delaware,* II, 1127. While the name Catty Crouch does not appear in the tax lists, 1780-1826, persons with that surname lived in New Castle County during the Revolution, through and after this period. Oaths of Allegiance, 1778, Manuscript Collections, Historical Society of Delaware; *Governor's Register,* pp. 64-65, 326.

67. Jacob Cartwright, who was living in Monongalia County when visited by Moore, married Rebecca Davis, the daughter of Isaac, Feb. 10, 1827. Dille, Thomas R., "Marriage Bonds Filed in Monongalia County, Virginia (now West Virginia)," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine,* LXIII, 559. The census of 1830 recorded Jacob to be more than thirty years of age and Isaac more than fifty.

was there, and on my account they said very nice one I got acqua[i]nted with a good many of the young people, injoyed my Self very much.

— I got tired doing nothing; concluded I would go to work for a months if I could git anything to do. I went over to Mr. Leese [who] is a near neighbour of Jacob Cartwrights and asked him for work. I had been there often become quite intimit in the family. he aske[d] Me what I could do. I told him. I was raised on a [page 11] Farm and understood farm work. he had a large farm near four Hundred Acers most of it hills and ruff had Some very good farm Land but quite roling, had a large Sugar Camp. he was a Taner by traid, and carried it on, on his Farm.

he asked me if I was a good Plowmen I told him he had not a Negro in Morgain County that could beat me plowing. he asked me if I was a good axmen. I said not much of an ax men. he said you will not have much of that to do. I Said I hope *not* he *Laught* at that — I have a Sugar Camp I will want you to help making Sugar. I Said *all* right. I may want you to work in the Tan house [page 12] I suppose you do not understand the Taning business not much Said I all the Taning I ever did was to Tan a nautey boys hide a little for him. at that he had a harty Laught. he then Said as the Most of your time will be in the Sugar Camp and we have to do a good deal of night work, I will give you Fifteen dollars per Month I told him that would do. when Shall I Set in right away.

the first work I did was to cut of[f] Some rail cuts, old marked Trees which was almoste as hird as *Iron.* after I had been hamering away for near three hours Mr Leese came to See how I was getting along. I had not done much but did the best I could. he asked me for the ax, and [page 13] he Said what is the matter with your hands. he Saw they were nearly blistered I told him I had been Idle *for some time.* and they were a little Tender. I was on North Side of a hugh hill, the wind blowing from the North, *quite cold,* and Snowing a little. he Said The weather is *Cold* we will go to the house I have Some matters to fix up in the Tan house. I sholdered my ax and walk[ed] of[f] with him — much *pleased* with the change.

When we got to the Tan house, he Said it was too cold in here without fire So we made one up Soon. There was a note book lying on a bench.[68] he picked it up and asked me if I could Sing by not[e] I told him Not Much he asked if I [k]new Bridge Water. I told him [page 14] I did. Soon

68. Moore and Leese were singing from *Columbian and European Harmony; or Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music,* by Bartholomew Brown and others (Boston, 1802). The collection, which was quite popular in America, had appeared in a tenth edition by 1822.

M[r]s Leese came down to tell us Dinner was Ready. She found us Singing *Bridge Water*. She said I thought you came down to work. We told her we had done our work and was waiting for *Dinner*. by this time my hands were nearly in a blister. Said She did not think Jimy you ever did much hard work I told her that was the first time I ever was sent to the woods to cut wood. I cut no more wood while I was there.

The next was to Plow a hillsid[e] field of eight Acers. I did it with shifting mould bord throughing the furrow down hill all the time. Mr Leese Said he never had that field turned so nicely.

The next week there was an [word missing] to take place at Morgain Town[69] Mr Leese had a brother in Law on the Ticket for Congress. We all went and helped his family [page 15] with a public Dinner which he gave in his yard; he was an own Brother of Mrs Leese his name was Col. Watts,[70] as they called him. I thought him a *Splendid Man*. he was *Elected* and we were *all glad*. I was very kindly treated by the family.

The most of my month was spent in the Sugar Camp. When my month was up I left for Pittsburg in Company with Enoch Vandyke and Abram Cartwright. at that place Cartwright left us, and went to Lake Eary.[71] I paid him the Seven dollars I had borrowed of him at the Start.

I got a Situation at Pittsburg[72] to oversee and attend to Some 18 or 20 men in a Stone query. I got 25$ per month. when my month was up, I Set in for another at advanced wages. I got but little out of that month on account of Enoch giting Sick, and [page 16] would have me hare with him.

69. Morgantown was the county seat of Monongalia County, Virginia, now West Virginia. It contained about 500 population in 1820. Morse, *Universal Gazetteer*, p. 480; Martin, Joseph, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia and the District of Columbia* (Charlottesville, 1835), pp. 389, 391.

70. Richard Watts represented Monongalia County as a member of the Virginia House of Delegates for the sessions of 1825-31, inclusive, and as a state senator from 1832-35, inclusive. Swem, Earl G., and Williams, John W., *A Register of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1776-1918 and of the Constitutional Conventions* (Richmond, 1918), p. 117, 120, 122, 125, 127, 130, 134-36, 138.

71. Labor was particularly in demand in the region near Lake Erie and northeastern Ohio in the period, 1825-1828, because of the construction of the Ohio canal. Howells, *Recollections*, p. 139.

72. In the hills along the river near Pittsburgh, both coal and stone for the glass factories were quarried. Pittsburgh had recovered from the depression of 1819-1821 by the time of Moore's visit, and, according to Lyford, "all was bustle" between 1825 and 1831. Many travelers to the city commented on the heterogeneity of nationalities and manners represented by the Pittsburgh inhabitants. Hotels charged between $1.25 and $1.50 for board and lodging per day, but the prices set by lodging houses were half that of hotels. Skilled workers, such as a good molder in a factory, received between $11 and $12 per week, although unskilled laborers were usually paid from 75c to $1.00 per day. Laborers might be discharged for intoxication, quarrelling, or "skulking." This last qualification may refer to a refusal to accept "the time of commencing and terminating work for the day [which] is understood by all parties and submitted to cheerfully." Lyford, *Western Address Directory*, pp. 67-68, 82, 88, 100; Blowe, *Views*, p. 423; Morse, *Gazetteer*, pp. 584-85.

I board[ed] with a man by the name of Crain. he was Store Keeper I often assisted him in his store Saturdy nights he asked me if I could not git my men to deal with him. I told him I would see. I got the most of them to do so, and waited on them Saturdy nights when I left Pittsburg he made no charge for board. Said I had brought custom to the Store and had often assisted him he thought he ought not charge me board. I told him I was very much oblige[d] to him, and when I left he made me some presents, and so did his wife I would have been glad to have staid Longer.

We put out for what we call[ed] the *back woods*. we went to Brownsvill[73] about 40 miles down the Ohio [page 17] River — we Stoped there half day. Saw for the first time a Steam Boat She was aground at the warfe a good many went on board of her They were letting of[f] steam I asked the Captin if there was any danger he said there was and he expectd her to [be] blown up every minut. there was quite a run for the gang plank. I think I was amongst the first to git of[f].

We left there for Canton[74] going North West some 40 or 45 miles. beautiful Town, the Land Roling and Rich I was delighted with the place and said to Enoch, as we have not herd from our folks out West I thought we had better stop here for one month — if we can get any thing to do. We saw a brick yard, went and Sit down to see the men work. I said to Enoch [page 18] lets take a hand here if we can get in. We Saw the o[w]ner and hired with him for one month and 25$ and board ourselves and aske[d] him where we could git a good boarding house and Lodging, we would not go in any other. we are not going to work from necessity but from *Choice*. I further asked if there was any Methodist Church in Canton, he said there was and a good one, and said that he and his wife and Daughter all belong[ed] to that Church. he aske[d] us if we belong[ed] to the Methodist Church. We told him we did not but we were Methodist notwithstand[in]g we ware dressed well and Looked *more* lik[e] young Gentle Men *foot Pads*. he Said

73. Brownsville, next to Pittsburgh, was the most important place in western Pennsylvania, according to Morse. One hundred boats, each of 100 tons, were made here annually by 1820. *Universal Gazetteer*, p. 130. Mrs. Frances Trollope, who passed through the town in 1830, described it as "pretty, were it not stained by the hue of coal." *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (New York, 1901), p. 280.

74. Canton was described in Flint's *Geography*, p. 419, as having in 1826, 200 dwelling houses, 1,496 inhabitants, two printing offices, six schools, two churches, five ministers, and fifteen stores. Visitors to the town frequently commented on its handsome situation. Blowe, Daniel, *Views of the United States of America* (London, 1820), p. 542; Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country*, p. 234.

A Methodist society had been organized in the town around 1822, but until the church was erected in 1833, the members met on the second floor of the old academy building for services held by a circuit rider. Danner, John, editor, *Old Landmarks of Canton and Stark County, Ohio* (Logansport, 1904), pp. 190, 238-39. It was estimated in 1830 that about 22% of the public and private dwellings in the town were of brick. Kilbourn, *Ohio Gazetteer* (1833), pp. 115-16.

he did not know Just then where we co[u]ld git Such a boarding house as you want. I will See about it, and if my [wife?] [page 19] is wil[l]ing you can board with us for one week and I will see about a boarding house for you. he was a very plain man Large house and only three in family. we made no change of boarding house. we were well treated, went to Church with his family —

when our month was up we left for New Phila[75] about 15 miles got there about Sun Set put up for the night Splindid place the country *beautifule* the next day we walk[ed] Ten miles before we could git a Lunch, Eight miles more that day before we could put up for the night, and that was at a *poor country hous*[*e*] not worthy the name of Hotel

the next day we put out for *White Woman.*[76] about noon we [page 20] were looking about for a place to get a *Lunch* — we Saw a Small Hous[e] Standing Some distance from the Road we concluded to go to it we found no one home but a Small girl. we asked her if her Mother was home She Said Mother has gone to White woman to the Store. we then told her we had come to git something to eate. She said, if Mother was home She would give you Some. She often gives poor people something to eate. I then said, *Sisey,* you are not a friend [afraid?] of us are you *No, Sir* You need not be. will be very much oblige[ed] to you if you will let us have Some bread and milk We pay you well for it. I could not take pay. Mother never charges poor people I shall lit you have Some [page 21] will you walk down to the Spring house with me. [We] went She gave us all the milk and bread we wanted we then got out Some money and Said this is for you and not for Mother. She said Mother would not like for me to take money from *poor folks* We could not help, but *Laught* I put 25 cents on the Bench bid her good buy and walked of[f] for *White woman,* got there about night up [put] up for the night. it was a very Strange Looking Town, nearly all Log houses covered with Tile Shingles. The accomodatins at the Hotel was good. they had two Town gardens where all got vegetables from, and paid a town Tax acording to the Sise of there family.

We left next morning for *Connoten head* [page torn] [page 22] nice Town put up for all night Hotel accomodatins quite good, very dear. we

75. The splendid quality Moore is describing apparently refers to the location of New Philadelphia on the plain of the Muskingum River, since it contained only about fifty houses in 1820, and 410 inhabitants and five taverns in 1830. Morse, *Universal Gazetteer,* p. 512; Kilbourn, *Ohio Gazetteer* (1831), p. 343.

76. White Woman's River, Ohio, now the Mohican, a branch of the Muskingum River, a tributary of the Ohio, flows into the former at Coshocton. By 1830, Moore's name for the river had been replaced by Walhonding. Henry Howe related the tradition that it had been named for a white woman who had married an Indian. Kilbourn, *Ohio Gazetteer* (1821), p. 174; Jenkins, Warren, *The Ohio Gazetteer and Traveler's Guide* (Columbus, 1837), pp. 451-52; Howe, *Historical Collections* (1896) I, 467.

then [left] for Coshackton[77] which Said to be thirty miles or more. we Stoped at a Country Hotel got a Lunch. from that, we travel about Ten Miles to a good Country Hotel put up for the night, *beautifule Country*. Land Rich and not much Roling.

the next day we went to Coshackton I think was near twelve Miles got there about 1. PM went to a good Hotel and call[ed] for a Lunch. we remained there over night, and until noon quit[e] a large Town for the West. had good accommodatins found the people quite Clever, told us a good deal about the West I asked the Land Lord if he [k]new a family by the name of Stradly. he said he did not. Just at that time a gentlemen from the country came in the Room [page 23] and hird us talking, and Said he did, he [k]new the Widow Stradly, if that was the family you inquire for She came from Delaware. that the family we want to find. will you be kind enough to tell us where She resides. and how to find her I think She resides about Eight Miles from here. I do not think She lives within five miles of any public Roads. you will take the public Road to Zensvill, and when you git about three miles you will come to a black Smith and wheelright Shops. there you will leave the public Road go to your Right, entering a large woods — and Small Road. you will See Some Cabbins along these woods [Roads? page torn] [page 24] you will have to inquire for M[r]s Stradlys. there are a good many in this woods leading to different Settlers.

we put out as soon as we cold git an early *Dinner,* had good luck in *finding her*. when we got to her out Side bars got on them to look at her *farm*. She had 160 Acers. one half of it the Trees notch[ed] around and Killed not a leaf on them. and her Boys raising large Crops of wheat corn Potatoes and flax all through the standing dead Trees — So then concluded we ware in the *back woods Sure*. when we got to her Log Cabbin, She Saw us before we go[t] in the yard. She met us and said come along Boys I knew you Enoch Vandike and Jamy V. Moore and said *I am so glad to see you,* your Aunt Polly and Judith was here [page torn] yes[terday] to spend the day with me [page 25] and you boys were nearly all the talk we had I asked how far was it to Aunt Pollys. Aunty Stradly said not far I am not going to lit you go over until after Supper it has been a long time Since I remember well Something She had for Supper. She had Waffels Busquit

77. Conoten was a post office located in Harrison County on a creek by that name which rises near the eastern border of Tuscarawas County and flows northwest to the Tuscarawas River. Coshocton lies at the junction of the Walhonding and Tuscarawas rivers, which unite to form the Muskingum. Before 1820, Coshocton contained only about thirty houses according to Blowe, *Views*, p. 540, but increased rapidly after the building of the Ohio canal. Howe, *Historical Collections* (1896), I, 70; Kilbourn, *Ohio Gazetteer* (1833), pp. 161, 163-65.

Fride chicken coffee sweeting — with her own make of Sugar She had a Small Sugar Camp of her own.

after Supper was over her boys, Enoch and I started to go to Aunt Pollys but had to go by Mr. B. Welchs Just as we ware going by his house, I saw Judy Standing in Welchs yard. I said to Enoch I see Judy your wife I never Shall forgit there meeting

Aunt Polly [page 26] Resided on the adjoining Farm as near as it was I could not git away from Mr. Welch would have me stay all night at his house next morning we all went over to Aunt Pollys when we walked up to here bars I saw John Vandyke sitting on the end of one of the Logs of the Cabbin that had not been cut of[f] as soon as John Saw us, he hollowed to his Mother, Mother they have come, Enoch and Jimy is here. Aunt Polly was in bed. tell them to come in the house *right away* Said My dear Boys I am [page 27] so glad to see you and laid her arms around us. where have you been So Long — I said Aunty we did not know where you ware until a few days since I got a ["Situation" crossed out] letter from Uncle Jacob telling us where you ware we ware in Canton up north and we put out at once to find you, and we have done it. Dear Aunty I am so glad to See you all Enoch told her, if it had not been for him, you would [not?] have seen Jimy Moore yeat how is that Jimy — Aunty, I got a Situation and was making Some money and wanted to stay and make a *little more* as we did not knew where you ware.

My Cousin Milcah [page 28] Ann Set down on my Knee and [said] Cusin Jimy I am so glad you have come, I been telling the Girls what a nice cousin I had and you would be here Soon they are anxious to See you. She told me there was to be a flax pul[l]ing at Mr Owns day after tomorrow I am glad you are here in time to go. I told her I could not go. I was a Stranger and did not want to me[e]t so many of them. I would prefer meeting them more Single handed without my Knowledge. She Saw Some of them. [Said?] I had come. Some of them came over to see what [page 29] I found them very Nice young ladies.

I soon found I would have to go to the flax Pul[l]ing. quite a large Company of young folks were there. I soon found I could not keep up I was betwin two young Ladies who want[e]d [to] pull some flax in my thraugh the others did not Know it. I came out at the end all right, and I was congratulated as being a good flax puller. I Saw they were all racing, no more Racing after that when we got done Pulling the flax we went to the house, and supper was Soon ready and a *splendid* one it was. we injoyed it very much Soon the Table was cleared, and we had [page 30] a big

Dance. My Self, and the gentlemen who asked a blessing at the Supper Table included, about 11 PM the Table was laid again and filled with Refresments after that was through with we had a *big Back Wood Play*: *all new to me.* about 3 AM we left for home all right. no Liquor there. Mr Ownes the Gintlemen, of the house was a *Temperance Man.* I soon became acquainted with the young folks of the neighborhood — Mr. Owens family was quite refined, formerly come from Baltimore Miss Owens was Just one of the prettiest little girls I ever saw. I was often at there house and became [page 31] quit[e] intimit in the family.

Aunt Polly had another very nice neighbor by the name of Gause they came from Maryland. he had five grown up Daughters. I went in company with two other young men one evening to call upon them when we got near the house we hird the Spin[n]ing wheels, they ware all Spining flax when we [k]nocked at the door the wheels all Stoped and the girls all left for other parts of the house but *soon returned.* we found the family quite pleasant and interesting. I often went to Church with them —

the Second year I was in Ohio, the Same young folk that I saw at the flax Pulling, got up a Strawberry [page 32] Party. we had to go near a mile to a field Said to be *almost* covered with wild Strawberrys— we all met at the house of Mr Owns early, and took up our *March* on foot Miss Owns said Mr Moore I *hope* the walk is not too much for *you.* I told [her] I had walked further thin that a many time, I thought I could stand it, providing I can git a *Lunch* on the way. She Laught and Said I will see to that when we got by the Strawberry field, I said Ladies this is no flax patch, I can work my way and Keep up I think, one of the Miss Gauses Said we See about that Mr Moore. We all had half gallen cups, went to work and I got *beat bad.* I found them good [page 33] Pickins. the girls had taken Sugar and cream and plait[s] along So we added Strawberry to our Lunch which we had along with us — all had a *good time,* got back home in time for Tea—

My Cousin Milca Ann turned *Dunce* and married an old man by the name of Moses, not quite as old as the Moses we read about in the *Bible.* I told her it was his *Farm* She was after, he had some money *also* the day he was married Some of the young Men for *fun* that night went to his farm and pulled the Chimney down of his House it was a Log Cabbin Chimney Stood out Side of the house — his friends went over the next day and put [page 34] [it back] again, and they Soon moved in

after Staying at Aunt Pollys Some time and helping the boys with there

work I concluded I wanted [to] go to Zensvill[78] which was about Ten Miles. I had not been there and [was] told it was quite a Large place on the *Muskindum River*. I road one of Aunt Pollys horses — I went Early in the morning. Spent [the day?]

I had hird there was a Dr Ham Residing in Zensvill after I got over the Muskindum River I Saw a Store near the Bridge I road up and asked the Clerk if there was a gentlemen living in Zensvill by the name of John Ham. he said there was, the Dr was in the Store. he hird me inquire for him and he came to the Door I was riding of[f] — he called to [page 35] me to Stope I hird you inquire for me Dr you must Excuse me I have no business with you *whatever* I did not Know you were so near me young man, I would like you to tell me why you inquired for me. My reason for it was I hird there was a Dr Ham residing in Zensvill that come from Delaware, he asked me if I was from Delaware I told him I was he asked me what part of Delaware I told from near Smyrna in New Castle county — I suppose you Know a good many of the people of Smyrna. I told him I did. who did you Know — I [k]new Presely and Enoch Spruance,[79] and John and Dana Cummins,[80] John and Ebezner Cloak,[81] Judge Davis Ayres Stock-

78. The junction of the Licking and Muskingum rivers is at Zanesville. Blowe described its houses as "generally small but neat and well built." Some of these "made a show of splendor," according to Flint in 1826; the latter also mentions several mills and factories, three printing offices, two academies, and an athenaeum. The National Road still fell short of Zanesville in 1827. Blowe, *Views*, p. 539; Flint, *Geography*, p. 414; Morse, *Gazetteer*, p. 804; Jordan, *National Road*, p. 94.

79. Presley Spruance was born in Kent County, Sept. 11, 1785, and entered business with his father in Smyrna around 1806. The business firm was later under the name of Presley and Enoch Spruance, which in 1826 owned merchandise valued at $5000. *Delaware Gazette*, Mar. 31, 1826. Presley Spruance served in the State House of Representatives, 1822-24, State Senate, 1826-32, 1835-38, 1841-44, 1846, and as a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1831. He was a U. S. Senator from Delaware from 1847 to 1853. He died in Smyrna on Feb. 13, 1863. In addition to his business interests, Enoch Spruance was the assessor of Smyrna in 1826 and a town commissioner in 1827-29, 1831, 1834, and 1856. He also served as a state representative in the legislature in 1850. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, D. C., 1928), p. 1558; Scharf, *History of Delaware*, II, 1100-1; Conrad, Henry C., *History of the State of Delaware* . . . (Wilmington, 1908), I, 182, 186, 261, 266-67, 270, 278-79.

80. John Cummins, the son of Daniel, was a member of the Delaware State House of Representatives in 1815, 1816, and 1820. He, like Moore, supported Jackson in 1828 and addressed a convention in Dover during the Jackson campaign. *Delaware Gazette*, Aug. 29, 1815; July 25, 1828. He was one of the founders of St. Peter's Church at Smyrna. Conrad, *History of the State of Delaware*, I, 277-78, 285; Scharf, *History of Delaware*, II, 1100-2.

81. In 1826, John Cloak was the agent in Smyrna of the Delaware Fire Insurance Company with offices in Wilmington. During the same year he and Ebenezer Cloak had for sale fifty-four shares of stock in the Bank of Smyrna. Ebenezer Cloak was active in Kent County Democratic politics and with Cummins attended the 1828 Dover convention. *Delaware Gazette*, Apr. 18ff, May 12, 1826; July 25, 1828. In 1824 he purchased a mill on Little Duck Creek, erected by Simon Kollock in 1790, which, after Cloak's death in 1867, was continued by his son Dr. E. M. Cloak until 1886. Scharf, *History of Delaware*, II, 1129.

ley,[82] Alexander Pitterson,[83] Ephrim Jefferson,[84] Dr. Perkins,[85] Piner Mansfield.[86] [page 36] and I [k]new Charles Ham who Kept the half way Hotel from Smyrna to Dover and a great many other[s] that is my own Brother Charles Ham.[87] Now young man you must go home with me my wife will dance all over the house to here from so many old friends. Dr you must *excuse me* I did not intend to call upon you I am too young a man for that, he said he could not excuse me, and would really oblige him to do so. I had to go home with him. he told a boy to take my horse to his Stable, as soon as he got in the Pa[r]lor he call[ed] his wif[e] and said My dear, this young man is from Delaware he know[s] all of our old friends in Smyrna. he also Knows my Brother Charles — She was delight[ed] but did not Dance as he said [page 37] I dined with them and spent the most of the afternoon with them. it was hard to git away from them I left about five PM got to Aunt Pollys in time for Supper told her all about Dr. Ham and what he said to me

I was often in Zensvill after that and always went to see the Dr. as he had requested me to do. I took a good many Rides — with him which I injoyed very much — he told me how he came to Ohio from Delaware. he had

82. Judge Isaac Davis was appointed by the governor to the Supreme Court of Delaware in 1814. He had earlier served as state representative in 1792, state senator in 1794, speaker of the state senate, 1798; Register of Wills for Kent County, 1799-1804, and Brigadier General of the State Militia in Kent County during the War of 1812. At this time he was president of the Bank of Smyrna; its first president, he served from 1822-1844. *Governor's Register*, p. 115; Conrad, *History of Delaware*, I, 164, 266, 270, 276; II, 608, 620.

Ayres Stockley was in partnership with George W. Cummins in Smyrna until 1834 and was an agent for the Wilmington Fire Insurance Company in 1837. He was secretary of a citizens' meeting in 1828 to arrange for the Fourth of July celebration, and he was a commissioner for Smyrna in 1862-63. *Delaware Gazette*, July 11, 1828; Apr. 15, 1834; *Delaware State Journal*, Feb. 7, 1837; Scharf, *History of Delaware*, II, 1100.

83. Alexander Peterson was one of the founders of the Smyrna tannery in 1826. Conrad, *History of Delaware*, II, 619.

84. Ephraim Jefferson was one of the seven trustees of the Mechanics Academy of Smyrna, which had been incorporated in 1817. Scharf, *History of Delaware*, II, 1104-5.

85. Dr. J. D. Perkins joined the Medical Society of the State of Delaware in 1828 and was on the Medical Board of Examiners in 1834. *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Medical Society of the State of Delaware . . . New Castle . . . June 12, 1866* (Dover, 1867), p. 10; *Delaware Gazette and American Watchman*, May 30, 1834.

86. Piner Mansfield was one of three commissioners of Smyrna in 1829, 1832, 1833. Scharf, *History of Delaware*, I, 1100.

87. In 1816 Charles Hamm was assessed for property in Little Creek Hundred, Kent County, valued at $2823. Tax Assessment List, Public Archives Commission, Dover, Delaware. In the spring of 1826 he was advertising for a "Good woman Cook, for a public house," and since the ad ran for only three weeks, we may consider it successful. In 1843 he was the innkeeper of the Kenton Hotel in Kenton Hundred. *Delaware Gazette*, Mar. 21, Apr. 7, 1826; Scharf, *History of Delaware*, II, 1118, 1128. Hamm married Lettitia Buckmister circa 1807. Delaware Marriage Records, Vol. A 6, p. 155, Public Archives Commission, Dover, Delaware.

two Small Gray Poneys wor[t]h about thirty dollars *each,* I had a no top wagon. I took a man to the woods cut Some Poles [page 38] Split and Shaved them bent them over the wagon, put a heavy twill mu[s]lin cover, put my wife and one child in it at [and] put out for Ohio. — I had a Profes[s]ion as Doctor and thought the West would be the best place for me. I have had *good Luck.* I own the place where I reside and have Seven Farms near Zensvill. and he said *all paid for* I saw them all after that—

the Dr. became a true friend of mine put me in a way to make some money — the first he did was to get me a Situation in a Large Flour Mill in Zensvill. My work was to take in grain and assist in a Store belong[ing] to the Mill. I got twenty dols. and boarded at the Mill.

[page 39] after my month was up Dr Ham told me he thought he could get me a better Job — there was to [be] built a wo[o]den tumble over Muskingdum River.[88] I think you had better take a Section to make I told the Dr. I had not money enough to undertake such a *big job* as that he said the Company will pay in advance one fourth of the money mentioned in the contract when it is Si[g]ned they will require Security and I will arrange that I told him he was *very kind indeed* -- he Said the amount will not be much and I will Reske that much on a Delaware Boy *any time* when I think him *good Stock.* I think [page 40] you can make some two Hundred dollars or more in about one month — you had better See the Committie that has charge of putting out the Sections, and I will Speak a good word to the Bridge Company for you. *very much oblige*[*d*] to you Dr. I will see them this after noon.

I asked the Dr to go with me to there office hi[he] did So. we look[ed] over the Draft of tumble bridge and also the Sections to be put out and the amount Stated on each Siction they would pay they run from 500$ to 800$ I ask[ed] the Dr to Select for me he put his finger on Section marked 800$ and the Clerk marked it taken. About a week after that I went to there

88. The current of the Muskingum was very rapid, and the falls, which are just below Zanesville, while they hindered navigation, encouraged the early construction of mills in that spot. Moore was fortunate to be able to build at low water when the rapids, or tumble, were less dangerous. While Moore's bridge has not been identified, the two bridges at Zanesville were described in 1828-1829 as being "handsome structure[s], especially the lower, which is a handsome, and durable piece of workmanship, connecting this town with Putnam." The former was the famous Y bridge, across which the National Road later passed, which connected Zanesville with West Zanesville and Natchez. The best bridges in Ohio, according to Atwater, were on the National Road, which was approaching Zanesville in 1827-1828. Flint, *Geography,* p. 401; Kilbourn, *Ohio Gazetteer* (1829), p. 247; Atwater, Caleb, *A History of the State of Ohio, Natural and Civil* (Cincinnati, 1838), p. 284; Everhart, *History of Muskingum County, Ohio,* p. 78; Morse, *Gazetteer,* p. 489; Blowe, *Views,* p. 517; Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (1847), pp. 388, 391; Lyford, *Western Address Directory,* pp. 202-3.

office and Signed the [page 41] Contract. the Doctor wrote his name on the back of it I felt some what *Scared* but *determined*. I would do the best I could. the President of the Company gave me his Check for one fourth of the Contract, two Hundred dollars. when the Doctor and I got back to his office, I Said Dr. I will make you my *Banker*. he said he did not want that. I told him I did and handed him the Check. he said he would put it in Bank for my use and in case of his death I would not lose it.

I went at the job at once, hired Six men, went up the River for Logs, put them in the River, made a Raft of them. the men brought them down to the [page 42] Saw mill which belong[ed] to the same company which I had been in for a month the Logs were sawed at once as my head carpenter *did order*. this new wood tumble was below the old one very dry at that time, not much water came over the old tumble, could work at it all the time, got along very *nicely*. I worked at it all the time. the money was paid me as I wanted it. got my Section done in about Six weeks. I made clear money, two Hundred and twenty dollars, not charging for my work. I had made before about 85$ which made me in hand 305$ — deduct from this $7.00 paid Cartwright for borrowed money, when I left Delaware. I gave my Cousin Enoch 50$ to Set [page 43] house Keeping in Ohio. I had Still in hand 248$

I did nothing after that while I was in Ohio. I was [k]nocking around *having a good time* I spent about 48$ When I left Ohio, I had about *two Hundred dollars* — I often helped Enoch with his farm work also Aunt Pollys Boys with there farm work. made no charge for that. I made my home with both of them while I remained in Ohio, accept what time I was at Dr Hams. and that was often, he had a Farm in Sight of Zensvill of 160 Acers. he wanted to sell me for 700$[89] and pay nothing but the intrest for Ten years as it was a good Farm Land *quite Rich*. was a good time to commence Farming in Ohio. I *thought* I must return to Delaware.

I concluded one Saturday, [page 44] I would go over to Aunt Polly and spend Sunday. I was at Enochs — and had to cross the River a young Lady went with men [me]. had Small no top Wagon — we forded the River going on Saturday going to Aunt Pollys. it rained on Sunday, and when we got to the River on Monday we found the River much higher we saw Some fording it and I drove in. when I got about half was [way] over I found the wagon was floating a round. I had to Jump out and hold it. as Soon as I did So the young Lady got scared and *Jumpt* out on me and [k]nock-

89. Flint's *Geography*, p. 393, estimated Ohio land was valued in 1826 at from $2-8 per acre, according to situation and quality.

ed me down in the water, and my hat of[f] which went down the *River* I had to hold on to the wagon and the horse and the girl *too* I had my hands full *certin*. I put her back in the [page 45] wagon again and told her if she *Jumpt* out again I would let her go the way my hat had gone. She cut up *high,* was Scared almost to death I held the horse wagon and Girl until help came to assist me. we got over Safe but as *wet* as *Rats*. My hat all this time was going down the *River*. a gentlemin down the River in a boat, caught it, and brought it to me. We thin had 2 1/2 miles to ride in an *no top Wagon* before we got to Enochs. we were quite child [chilled]

Enoch was Farming for a little *Rich* Irishman, who Keep his Gold and Silver in small Caggs. he was quite a pleasant man. I was often at his house which was on the Farm Enoch tilled for him. I often did Shoping for him. he never left the Farm. I used to Joke him [page 46] about his money. I Said to him, I think you might let me have one of those Small cages [kegs]. he asked me what I would do with it. I told him I [would] Purchas[e] Bill Jones Farm and be a good neighbour of his. he *Laught* and Said he would like to have me his neighbour, suppose you try it on. he said, he will think about that there it ended

My time in Ohio was nearly up. I wanted to get home in time for the Election to cast my *first vote* 1828. I went to my old friend Dr Ham and told him I was now thinking about leaving for Delaware. he said he was Sorry I was going

I asked him if he [k]new Mr Stite the gentleman who I had hird was making up a drove of horses to take East he Said he did. I asked what kind of a man he was. he told me, [page 47] to me he was a very nice man and Stood hugh [high] hire. he and I are *quite intimit*. I suppose he will want men to go with him to assist and drive his Drove. I would like to git a Situation with him. I do not intend to walk home. the Dr. Said I will See him for you — I know how many hands he wants or three to drive the Drove and one to assist him. what does he want the one to assist him to do. the Dr Said Mr. Stite can not be with the Drove all the time, he has bills to collect for horses sold last Spring on other Roads want a good man to take charge of the Drove pay toll make arrangement at Hotel for the drove and men, pay all bills in his absence, and that you can do Said the Dr. do you Know what he will pay to the one to assist him. I do [page 48] [not?] know, but good deal more than he pays hand[s] to drive the Drove. Dr I will be glad if you will see him for me — please do not tell him I am going home. *Certainly not,* Said he. the Dr saw him and recomd [recommended?] me. we went to See Mr. Stite the next morning. Dr Said this is the young man

I have recomedd [recommended?] to you. Mr Stite Said I have Seen this young man before Some place. I told him I had often seen him at new tumble Bridge. Dr Ham Said do you Remember the young man that built the third section. I do — I think Dr you backed him upon that Section. I did, and am wil[l]ing to do it again if necessary—

I told Mr Stite I would like to go as his assistant. he Said he would give me fifteen dollars did not want me to work but see the men attend well to the Drove and pay all bills in [page 49] my absence. I do not think that enough I will have a good deal of care and Responsibility. I will do the very best for you I can. I will give you 20$ I will go for 25$ Dr Ham then said *Stitte* be liberal I Know this young man will Suit you first Rate. well he Said I will give 25$ as the Dr. think[s] I will be well Suited. when do you want me to Set in. I am Ready to Set in on Monday next he Said he would not be ready to go East for a week or more. I told Mr. Stite I would come and help him in giting the Drove ready to move. I will make no charge for that he said I would be *much oblige* him to do So. I went and assisted him for near a week.

the way [page 50] we had a Long, Large twine Rope Large Ring in each end of it; every 12 feet there was a ring tied to this Rope a man Road the Lead horse with Harness on him hitched to the Ring in the end of the Rope at the other end of the Rope a man Road another hourse that had Harness on brest Strap Run through the Ring on that end of the Rope. the horses were then brought up to those Rings, and hitched two to a Ring one on each Side of the Large Rope. there was 15 Rings in the Rope besides the end Ring making in all 32 horses to the Rope, there was another man on horseback along Side of the Drove to attend them. that was a spled [splendid?] way to bring them, no running about the Road but travel ahead all the time.

[page 51] Mr Stite had a horse and Sulky. I had a Splened [splendid] horse the Sulky I had Sometimes both of us had Water Proof Capes and hats. I had my clothi[n]g in a Leather Sadle Bag on the end part of my Saddle. I had a good Tan Bar hide on my Saddle to ride on which pr[o]tected my Saddle Bags and Keep my clothing Dry.

ware in Old Lancaster a week or more. Sold Some horses there I lost my Riding horse there he was a spl[e]ndid horse. Mr Stite bought him in Ohio for 60$ and Sold for 120$ which was a great advance, but he was worth the money. I told Mr Stite I thought he would bring 150$ in Phila. he said that may be so but his [he] was Satisfied at the price he got — I did not want to part with [page 52] him then.

we felf [left] Lancaster and came to Wilmington we thin had but

eight horses we Stoped at the Blue Ball Hotel[90] Just out Side of Wilmington. I had been with him near a month and half. I told him that night if he would let me of[f] I would not go to Phila he said why not. I then Said you have help enough for what horses you now have and do not need me. and I am now home and in the State where I was borned and lived all my life until I went to Ohio in 1826. he Laught very much at that and said *You are a Sharpe young man.* I asked him if was Satisfied with what I had done intirely So, he Said — we then settled. I had advanced 20$ on the Road for [page 53] him of my own money. he paid that, and my wages which I think about 35$. he then said Jimy, I want to make you a Small present tip [to?] go down in Wilmington — he gave me a Splend[id] Fur Hat. I do this he said for your good attention to the men and Drove and advancing money for expenses on the Road. I told him I did not expect any thing for that. I am very much oblige[d] to you Mr. Stite. I hope you will have good Luck in closing out the balance of your Drove. I then bid him good buy—

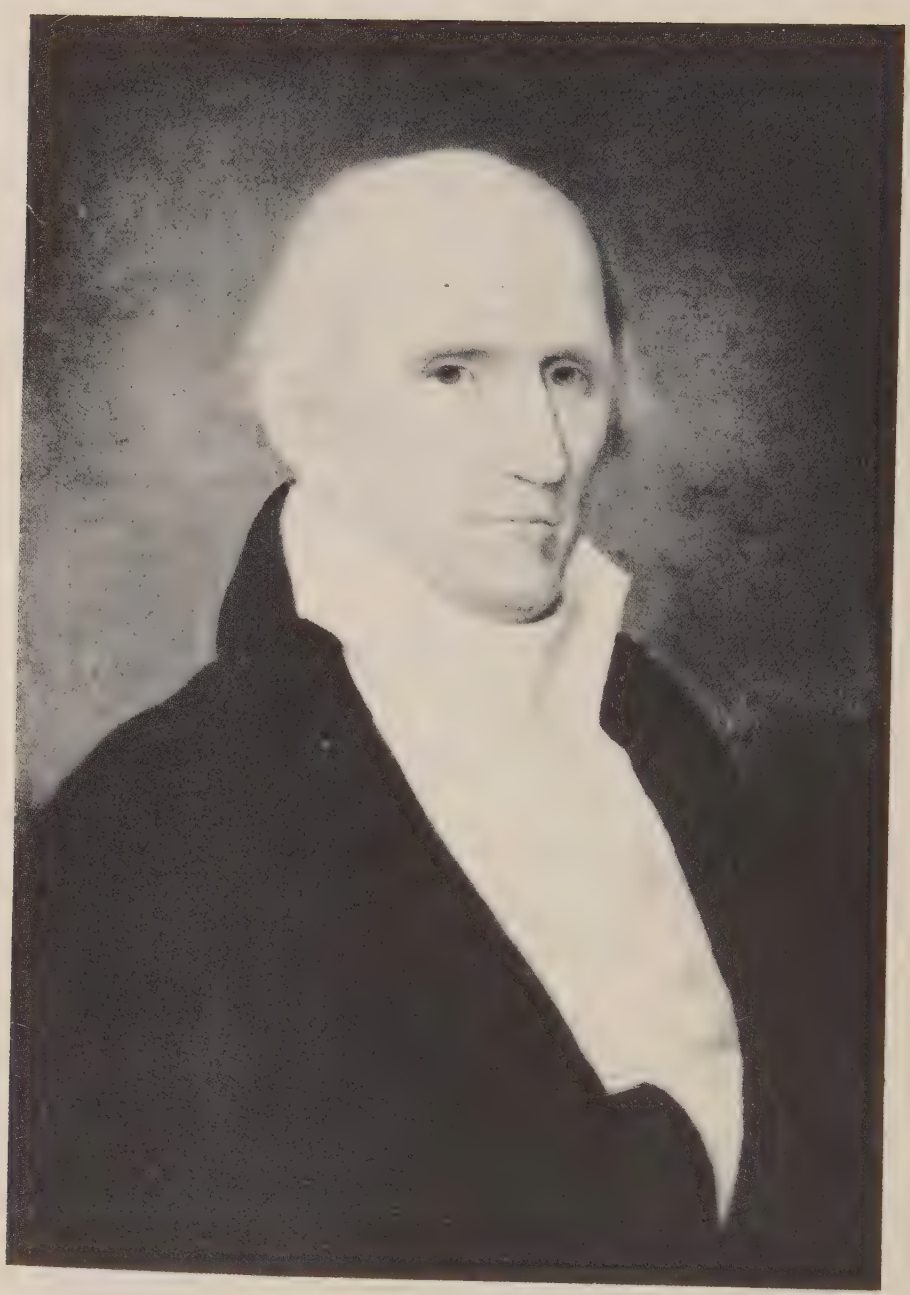
the next morning, I put my *new hat* on my head, the capt in my Sadd[l]e-bags — took the Stage[91] for Blackbird[92] when I got there my Uncle Jacob [page 54] ware there with his carrage waiting for me. he seem[ed] So glad to See me he could hardly talk to me. I was *truly* glad to See him, and all the family. I then Said to him you Know I told you I would come back again. he said you Stayed a good while before you did. I then told him I have had good health evey[r] Since I want out. not Sick a day. and have [had] *good Luck.* you Know I left with but three dollars — and after clothing my Self and paying my trav[e]ling expenses. I come with 235$ in cash. he said, *is it possible,* how did you make So much

it would take me too Long Uncle to tell you now.

90. Andrew Job established the first tavern in Nottingham, Maryland, on lot #35, about 1710, in a small brick building a few rods from the Blue Ball Inn, of which it was the forerunner. The tavern at the junction of the Lancaster County and Nottingham roads, was well patronized and long popular. The tavern building is now used as a country store. Johnston, George, *History of Cecil County, Maryland* . . . (Elkton, 1881), p. 160.

91. Since Blackbird is below Cantwell's Bridge on the route taken by the stage from Wilmington, it is interesting to speculate why Jacob Van Dyke was there to meet his nephew. It is worthy of note, if not of argument, that the Jackson supporters of Appoquinimink Hundred held a preliminary meeting in Blackbird on Friday, Aug. 1, to arrange for a convention rally in the woods near that village on Aug. 16, 1828. *Delaware Gazette,* Aug. 8, 15, 19, 1828. Perhaps Van Dyke had the same political sympathies as his nephew.

92. In 1828 the stage for Blackbird was run by Alexander Porter and left the Indian Queen Hotel (the Queen of Otaheite Tavern) at the corner of Fifth and Market Streets, Wilmington, for Dover on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. *Ibid.*, Aug. 19, 1828.



GOVERNOR CALEB PREW BENNETT

The portrait of Governor Bennett, which was purchased by the State of Delaware from his great-grandson in 1925, hangs in the Hall of Records, Dover. The painting is attributed by the Bennett family to Thomas Sully.

Orderly Book of Caleb Prew Bennett at the Battle of Yorktown, 1781

Edited by CHARLES W. DICKENS*

NO unit fighting in the Revolutionary War saw lengthier service, participated in more major engagements, or more justly deserved the citations and eulogies than the fearless regiment from "little Delaware."[1] Considered not to have been excelled by any other organization in the Continental Army, it participated actively throughout the northern and southern campaigns. A list of major battles in which the Delawares fought includes Long Island on August 27, 1776; Trenton (December 26, 1776); Princeton (January 3, 1777); Brandywine (September 11, 1777); Germantown (October 4, 1777); Camden (August 16, 1780); Cowpens (January 17, 1781); Guilford Court House (March 15, 1781); Hobkirk's Hill (April 25, 1781); and Eutaw Springs (September 8, 1781).[2]

Decimated by the rigors of such hotly contested battles, most of which were fought at bayonet point, these ill-clothed, weary, and fever-ridden troops thereafter remained in the South but were relatively inactive following the battle at Eutaw Springs.[3]

Conspicuous in the southern campaign under Generals Baron de Kalb and Nathanael Greene was Captain Robert Kirkwood, one of Delaware's foremost heroes. Colonel Henry Lee of Virginia, writing in his memoirs, says of Kirkwood and the Delawares, "The State of Delaware furnished one regi-

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1. Christopher L. Ward, *The Delaware Continentals, 1776-1783* (Wilmington, Del., 1941), pp. xiii, xiv, 350-51, 435, 484; William G. Whiteley, *The Revolutionary Soldiers of Delaware* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, No. 14, Wilmington, 1896), pp. 49-54, 58-59, 64; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware, 1609-1888* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1888), I, 261, 263.

2. Ward, *Delaware Continentals, passim.*

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 367, 468.

ment only; and certainly no regiment in the army surpassed it in soldiership. The remnant of that corps, less than two companies, from the battle of Camden, was commanded by Captain Kirkwood, who passed through the war with high reputation . . ."[4]

After this debilitating battle at Camden (August 11, 1780), Captain William McKennan, Lieutenant Paul Quenouault, Lieutenant John Hyatt, and Lieutenant Caleb Prew Bennett were dispatched to their home state of Delaware to recruit replacements for Kirkwood's depleted ranks.[5]

Of these four Delaware officers, we focus our attention on Lieutenant Bennett, not because of any particular act of heroism but partly because he was later elected governor of Delaware, and more importantly, because he recorded for posterity information in the form of his orderly book on the siege of Yorktown.

Caleb Prew Bennett was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, November 11, 1758. His father was Captain Joseph Bennett, a shipping merchant, who, incidentally, brought from India the first umbrella ever seen in Wilmington. His mother was Elizabeth Prew Wiley, for whose father her son, Caleb, was named. The Bennett family moved to Wilmington in 1761. In 1776 when Caleb was only seventeen, his patriotic father induced him to join the ranks and fight for independence. As a private in the Delaware regiment, he joined General Washington's army at New York and received promotion to the rank of sergeant in 1776 and ensign in 1777. He served with his company under Captain Thomas Holland in the battles of Staten Island, Brandywine, and Germantown, in which he was wounded. In May, 1778, he joined General Washington at Valley Forge, receiving in that same year a commission as second lieutenant. After participating in the various campaigns in New Jersey, his company was assigned to Baron de Kalb's units, which were fighting in the South.[6]

4. Whiteley, *Revolutionary Soldiers of Delaware*, p. 59.
5. Ward, *Delaware Continentals*, p. 469.
6. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1934), II, 191; *Delaware Gazette* (Wilmington), May 10, 1836; Bennett Family Bible Records, Hall of Records, Public Archives Commission, Dover, Delaware; Scharf, *History of Delaware*, I, 210; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army* (Washington, D. C., 1914), p. 99; *Delaware Archives* (Wilmington, 1911-1916), I, 89.

As previously mentioned, Lieutenant Bennett was assigned to recruiting duty in Delaware in August, 1780. At the siege of Yorktown and the subsequent capitulation of Cornwallis some biographers have attributed to Lieutenant Bennett a "command of one of the batteries and in close touch with Washington." Christopher Ward questioned this statement in his *Delaware Continentals,* and it is not substantiated by either the orderly book or Bennett's account of "The Delaware Regiment in the Revolution."[7]

When independence was secured and the Army disbanded in 1783, the thrice-wounded Caleb Bennett returned to Wilmington and entered politics. In 1807 he was appointed treasurer of New Castle County, an office he held for twenty-five years.

In 1812 Bennett again entered the army and served as a major of artillery in command of the militia forces stationed at New Castle. An interesting sidelight on the personality of Caleb P. Bennett is reflected in the account of his trial by General Courts Martial at New Castle, July 13, 1814.[8]

Two charges were placed against Bennett by Brigadier General John Stockton. One was: "For ordering Captain C. Rodney's and Capt. David Wilson's companies to parade the 6th of June 1814 at Mendenhall's old fields,—knowingly, in direct opposition to the orders of the Brigadier General [Stockton]." The second charge: "After the Major's arrest, he then solicited the Officers to parade at the time and place ordered by him, in defiance of the General's Orders for those companies to parade with the first Regiment on that day." To these charges Bennett pleaded not guilty. In his defense he revealed a pride which had not, in his opinion, received proper consideration. At the trial he expressed his indignation over the fact that the orders for units under his command to parti-

7. *Dictionary of American Biography,* II, 191; *Delaware Gazette,* May 10, 1836; Ward, *Delaware Continentals,* p. 601; Caleb P. Bennett, "The Delaware Regiment in the Revolution," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* IX (1885), 451-62. Ward used the Bennett orderly book in compiling his work.

8. *Delaware Archives,* V, 736-53. See p. 738 for the charges brought against Bennett and p. 753 for the decision by the court. The Historical Society of Delaware has in its manuscript collections some of the correspondence of Brig. Gen. Stockton, Capt. David Wilson, one of those who received Bennett's orders, and Robert Dill, Attorney General of Delaware, concerning the issues which resulted in Bennett's trial.

cipate in a review were not received by him but instead by his subordinate officers. Having been bypassed by such an order did not, however, exempt Bennett from the first charge and the court found him guilty. On the second charge, he was acquitted. The court recommended that Major Bennett be reprimanded for his unmilitary action.

Biographers of Caleb P. Bennett have either overlooked or refused to cite this episode in the life of the last surviving officer of the Delaware Regiment and later governor of Delaware.

In November, 1832, Bennett was elected governor, which office he held until his death, May 9, 1836. He was buried in the grounds of the Society of Friends' Meeting House, Fourth and West Streets, Wilmington, Delaware.[9]

Turning back again to the turbulent days of 1780, we note that recruiting was not easy; however, by the early summer of 1781, seventy-five new men and ten old soldiers were enlisted and assembled at Christiana Bridge.[10]

In midsummer, 1781, Washington formulated his plan to combine forces with the French army and the French fleet of Comte de Grasse-Tilly in a concerted effort to defeat Cornwallis at Yorktown. In Bennett's own words we learn how this band of recruits became a part of this history-making engagement.

"We remained at our post," writes Bennett at Christiana Bridge, ". . . until the French Army from Rhode Island, and other detachments of the army, with the commander-in-chief at their head, arrived at our rendezvous [Head-of-Elk] in the month of August [1781], when we received orders from General Washington to prepare to follow on to Virginia. In a few days we took up our line of march for Baltimore . . . [where] small craft was prepared for our reception to proceed to Annapolis, where the French transports were waiting for the French army to embark. On our arrival at Annapolis we embarked, also, on board the "Marquis Lafayette" . . . and

9. *Delaware Gazette*, May 10, 1836; Bennett Family Bible Records.
10. *Delaware Archives*, III, 1080.

proceeded up James River . . . until we arrived in the neighborhood of Williamsburg, Virginia, where we landed and joined the troops . . . assembled there."[11]

The date of arrival at Williamsburg is not given by Bennett; however, Lossing states that the last division had arrived by September 25, 1781.[12] Also, the first entry in the orderly book is dated September 24, 1781, at Williamsburg.

The detachment of Delawares that arrived at Williamsburg to take part in the forthcoming campaign was a far cry from the battle-seasoned, well-trained regiment they were replacing. But, seasoned or green, they were present to offer their best services. Conceivably, some of the men might have been disappointed over the detachment's assignment to the Yorktown campaign instead of joining Kirkwood in South Carolina as they had expected.

A word of appreciation is extended to Richard E. Riegel, a director of the Historical Society of Delaware, who in 1940 presented this orderly book to the Society, thus rendering a valuable service to students, researchers, and interested readers. In appearance, the manuscript book is 6¼ x 8 inches in size and has "Caleb P. B." faintly inscribed on the cover. The flyleaf contains the following inscription: "Wilmington Sept 28 1784 Dear Sir/ I have taken the liberty to communicate to you the accounts we have here."

This is not the only record of the general orders issued at Yorktown, but it does appear to be more detailed with reference to the Delaware detachment. The most authoritative work on the correspondence and orders of Washington at the siege of Yorktown is to be found in the edition of the *Writings of Washington* (Volume XXIII, August, 1781-February, 1782) which was compiled under the direction of John C. Fitzpatrick and published by the U. S. Government Printing Office in Washington, D. C. Where this edition differs from the Bennett orderly book, the divergencies are stated in the footnotes.

11. Bennett, "The Delaware Regiment in the Revolution," pp. 456-57.

12. Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (New York, 1860), II, 308.

It is believed that most of the orders of the day were given verbally, a system which would account for the variously and incorrectly spelled names. Where the spelling is questionable, authoritative sources[13] were consulted before corrections in brackets were added. The pagination of the original manuscript is indicated by the insertion of page numbers in brackets. Identification of the personnel mentioned in the orderly book was made after reference to the sources listed below in footnote 13. Occasional hiatuses of a few days are noticed, possibly due to extended duties or marches, such as the march from Williamsburg on September 28, during which time clerical duties were suspended.

[1a] (Virginia) Head Quarters Williamsburgh Septr 24 1781

General Orders } Lt. Col: Harman[14]
Field Officers to morrow } B. [Brigade] M. [Major] Fullerton[15]

An Accurate Inspection of Arms, and Accoutrements, and Ammunition, to be made immediately, and defficiencies to be compleated,

The Continental troops composing the Army in Virga. are to be Brigaded as follows Vizt

Col. Vosse's,[16] Lt. Col: Barbers,[17] & Lt. Col: Gavients[18] Batalions of Infantry will form a Brigade to be Commanded by Brigadier General Mulengburgh,[19]

Col: Scammells[20] Regt., Lt. Col: Hamiltons[21] Batallion, of Infantry, & Hazen's Regt., a Brigade to be Commanded by Brigadier General Hazen,[22]

Lt. Col: [Thomas] Gaskins Virginia Regt. and the two pensylvania Batallions[23] a Brigade to be Commanded by Brigadier General Wayne,[24]

13. Heitman, *Historical Register;* Henry P. Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign and Surrender of Cornwallis, 1781* (New York, 1881); John C. Fitzpatrick, editor, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799* (Washington, D. C., 1931-1944).
14. Lt. Col. Josiah Harmar, Second Battalion, Maj. Gen. Baron von Steuben's division.
15. Lt. Richard Fullerton of Pennsylvania.
16. Col. Joseph Vose of the First Massachusetts Regiment.
17. Lt. Col. Francis Barber of New Jersey, thrice wounded and ironically killed by a falling tree in 1783. Heitman, *Historical Register,* p. 86.
18. Col. Jean Joseph Gimat. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington,* XXIII, 134.
19. Brig. Gen. Peter Muhlenberg of Virginia.
20. Col. Alexander Scammell, commander of the First New Hampshire Regiment.
21. Lt. Col. Alexander Hamilton of New York; also, a principal aide-de-camp to General Washington.
22. Brig. Gen. Moses Hazen, commander of the Second Canadian Regiment.
23. Commanded by Col. Walter Stewart and Col. Richard Butler. Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign,* p. 115.
24. Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne of Pennsylvania.

The two Jersey Regts. and the Rhode Island Regimts.[25] a Brigade to be Commanded by Col. [Elias] Dayton, The 3de & 4th Maryland Regts.[26] a Brigade to be Commanded by Brigadier General Gist[27]

[1b] The 1st & 2de New York Regiments[28] in Brigade to be Commanded by Brigadier General [James] Clinton. The Inspector General desires the Commanding Officers of Regts. & Corps may have them inspected without delay agreeable to the order of this day & report to him the state of their Arms, Accoutrements, and Ammunition,[29]

Head Quarters Williamsburgh Septr. 25th 1781

General Orders } Lt. Col: Adams
Field Officers to morrow } B. M. Hobby[30]

All Deserters & Prisoners coming from the Enemies lines are to be sent in the first instance to Hd. Qrs. No Horse's, Arms, or Accoutrements to be purchas'd from them except for the Public Service, unless it is specified to the contrary in the within passes, wch [which] will be granted to them by the Adjutant General,

Any persons of the above Descriptions found without proper passe's with the Army or in the environs of the Encamptments, to be Apprehended & sent to the Provost Guard,

The Deputy Commissary of Prisoners will report [2a] to Head Quarters all prisoners of War, immediately after their Capture,

The several Issuing Commissaries will be particularly careful in preserving all the Sheep Skins,[31] for the use of the Artillery they will be deliver'd to Mr. Thomas Jone's D: C: of Military Stores upon his application,[32]

At a General Court Martial assembled at Williamsbh by order of Major General The Marquis Dela Fayette, Col: Vos's President, Captn. [Robert] Wilkins of Col: [Walter] Stewart's Batallion of the Pensylvania line,

25. The two New Jersey Regiments were united and commanded by Col. Mathias Ogden. The Rhode Island Regiment was commanded by Lt. Col. Jeremiah Olney.

26. The Third Maryland Regiment was commanded by Major Peter Adams; the Fourth Maryland Regiment by Major Alexander Roxburg.

27. Brig. Gen. Mordecai Gist of Maryland.

28. The First New York Regiment was commanded by Colonel Goose Van Schaick and the Second New York Regiment by Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt.

29. The above-mentioned organization formed the three infantry divisions of the American wing of the allied army. The three commanders of these divisions were Lafayette, with 1,320 troops; Lincoln with 1,742, and Von Steuben, 1,914, totaling 4,976. Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, pp. 112-115.

30. Captain John Hobby of the Ninth Massachusetts Regiment.

31. Sheepskins were probably used to swab out the barrels of the artillery pieces.

32. Thomas Jones was Deputy Field Commissary of Military Stores. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XXIII, 136.

charged by Col: Stewart with riotous behaviour in his Tent at an unseasonable hour of the night, with disobedience of orders in not desisting when orderd so to do, by the Field Officer of the day, through the Adjutant Captn. [Isaac] Vanhorn, and for using Language and conduct subversive of good order & discipline was tried (An[d] Aquitted)

The Commander in Chief, approves the Opinion of the Court, and orders that Captain Wilkins be releas'd from his Arrest,

[2b] Lt. [John] Miles is Appointed Brigade Qua[r]ter Master to the Artillery in the room of Captain Lt. [Baxter] Haws [Howe], he is to be obey'd, and respected accordingly at present,

Head Quarters, Williamsburgh, Septr. 26th

General Orders

The first Brigade of Light Infantry, Wayne's Brigade, & the 3de Maryland Regt. are to remove to morrow morning at 8 O Clock tomorrow morning to the Encampment advanc'd of the City, the field Artillery attach'd to the Brigades is to be provided with Horses to morrow morning without fail, four days bread is[33] to be had, or flour, and the like quantity of Meat, no more fresh then [than] will keep is to be issued to all the Troops to morrow;

General Duportail[34] will direct the number of Intrenching and other Tools, necessary to be taken in the Army in the first Instance, and for the mode of Transportation with the Quarter Master General,[35]

A Corporal and four Dragoons from Col. Moylands [Stephen Moylan's] [3a] Command to attend daily at Head Quarters untill further Orders;

An accurate return of the several Regiments of Militia[36] on duty here, specifying the Brigade they belong to, to be given at the Orderly Room at 11 O Clock to morrow morning,

While the Army lies in its present position Genl orders will be issued every day at 3 O Clock P.M. at the Orderly Marquee in the rear of the American Encampment;

Head Quarters Williamsburgh Septr. 27th 1781

General Orders } Col: [Elias] Dayton & Lt. Col: [Edward] Antill
Field Officers to morrow } B. M: Hobby

33. "Is" reads "if" in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 140.

34. Brig. Gen. Louis le Beque du Portail (Chevalier Derford), chief of engineers, was a French officer holding a commission in the Continental Army.

35. Colonel Timothy Pickering of Massachusetts.

36. The militia, commanded by Gen. Thomas Nelson, Governor of Virginia, was formed in four brigades and totaled 3,200 troops. Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, p. 116.

The Rolls to be call'd with the greatest strictness at retreat beating this evening, and again at Tatto'o[37] in the presence of the Field Officers at which time no Officer or Soldier in Condition to march is to be absent from his post in Camp;

The General confides in Commanders of Corps for the punctual execution of these orders untill Circumstances shall render a change of dispensing is necessary;

[3b] The following will be the Order of Battle for the American Troops composing the right wing which will be form'd in two lines

The Continental Troops in the front line Consisting of the following Divisions in the following order Vizt:

Mulenburghs and Hazens Brigades to form the Division on the right under the Command of the Marquis Dela Fayette;

Waynes & the Maryland Brigades the Division of the Center for the present to be Commanded by the Baron Steuben,[38]

Daytons & Clintons Brigades on the left; the Senior Continental Officer to Command the right wing, and his Excellency the Count De Rochambeau to Command the Left wing, of which he will please to make his dispositions;

The two Companies of Delawares[39] are to be at present annexed to the 3de Maryland Regimt., Stephens & Lawsons Brigades of Militia will form the second line,[40]

[4a] The Park of Artillery, the Corps of Sappers & Minors [Miners], and the Virginia State Regt. will be posted between the two lines, in the order above mention'd Commencing from the right, the whole Army will march from the right in One Column at 5 O Clock precisely in the morning, the particulars of the march for the right wing will be distributed from the Quarter Master General;

37. A drum beat, calling all troops to their quarters; beat (or blown, in the case of a bugle call) just before taps.

38. Major General Baron F. W. A. von Steuben is sometimes referred to by Bennett as "de Steuben," a common appellation in the Revolutionary period.

39. The Delaware detachment with Capt. William McKennan commanding is listed by Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, p. 115, as being attached to the Miners and Sappers. However, the general orders for October 6, 1781, place them with the Artillery.

40. Brig. Gen. Adam Stephen's and Robert Lawson's brigades of Virginia Militia. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XXIII, 147.

[4b] 1789 Wm Pennock Dr[41]

April

To Cash paid half His forriage	17 " 6
To 2 1/2 days Mowing & cut 3/0 pr day	7 " 6
To 2 Bus. of turnips @ 1/10 1/2	3. " 9
To 2 lb of Butter at 1/2	2. 4.
To four Shotes at 10/	2.00 0
To four Bushel Potatoes @ 4/0	16. 0
To half the Rent. of the Meadow only Tinicum	6.00. 0
	10' 7" 1

No orders are recorded in the Bennett orderly book for September 28-30. Extracts on the seige from Washington's journal[42] explain what took place. As ordered, the allied armies began their eleven-mile march to the fields southeast of Yorktown. General Washington, thinking Cornwallis might spring an attack, ordered the troops to move in light marching order. The General further enjoined his men to "place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they [might] . . . prove the vanity of the boast which the British make of their particular prowess in deciding battles with that weapon."[43]

The day of September 29 was spent in reconnoitering the enemy's position and determining approaches and plans of attack. During the course of that night, the British abandoned their exterior works and withdrew within their interior works; thereupon, the American troops took immediate possession. The allied armies spent the following day, September 30, building and enclosing their own works.

41. This later addition is to be found in the four-page section of the orderly book which is blank, including manuscript pages numbering 5a, 5b, and 6a.

42. Reprinted in Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, pp. 166-70. For these missing orders, see Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XXIII, 148-51, 152-53, 153-55.

43. Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, p. 105.

[6b] Head Quarters before York Octr. 1st, 1781

General Orders
For the day to morrow } Brigadr. Genl. Wayne
Col: Stewart & Lt. Col: Huntington[44]
B M Anson[45]

The health of the Troops is an Object of such Importance that every possible attention ought to be paid to the preservation of it, the Qr. Mr. Gl.[46] is directed to use effectual means to obtain a quantity of Straw sufficient for the Men to lodge upon, The Commissary will endeavour to keep up a constant supply of Rum, which is in that case to be issued at the rate of One Gill Pr man daily; It is expected that bread of a good Quality will be furnish'd by Mr. Ludwick[47] superintendant of the Bakers nearly sufficient for the Army, & the Commanding Officers of Corps are call'd upon, to see that their Men are duely supplied with provisions on all occasions, and particularly when order'd on fatigue or any other duty;

[7a] Cols: or Commanding Officers of Corps are also requested to have as many of their Men present with their Corps as possible, if any who are fit for duty are absent at Williamsburgh or any other place in the vicinity, an Officer ought to be sent to bring them on immediately,

A General Court Martial of which Col: Dayton is appointed President will Assemble to morrow morning at 10 O Clock at the Judge Advocates Marquee about One thousand Yards SE of the Bridge over Beaver Dam Creek, for the tryal of Captain Duffy[48] of the 4th Regiment of Artillery and such other persons as may come before them, Lt. Col: [Edward] Antill, Major Bowman, [Maj. Sebastian Bauman], One Captain from the Artillery, two from Mulenbergh, two from Hazens, One from Waynes, two from Daytons, and one from Gists, & one from the York Brigades, will attend as Members, all Evidences and persons concern'd are to attend, One Orderly Serjeant from each Division are to be sent to the Court;

[7b] *Whilst the Army lies in this position the post from Head Quarters will set Off every Friday at 6 O Clock in the evening,*[49]

Accurate Returns of the Continental Troops and Militia in Camp to be given in at the Generals office at orderly time to morrow,

44. Lt. Col. Ebenezer Huntington of the Third Connecticut Regiment.

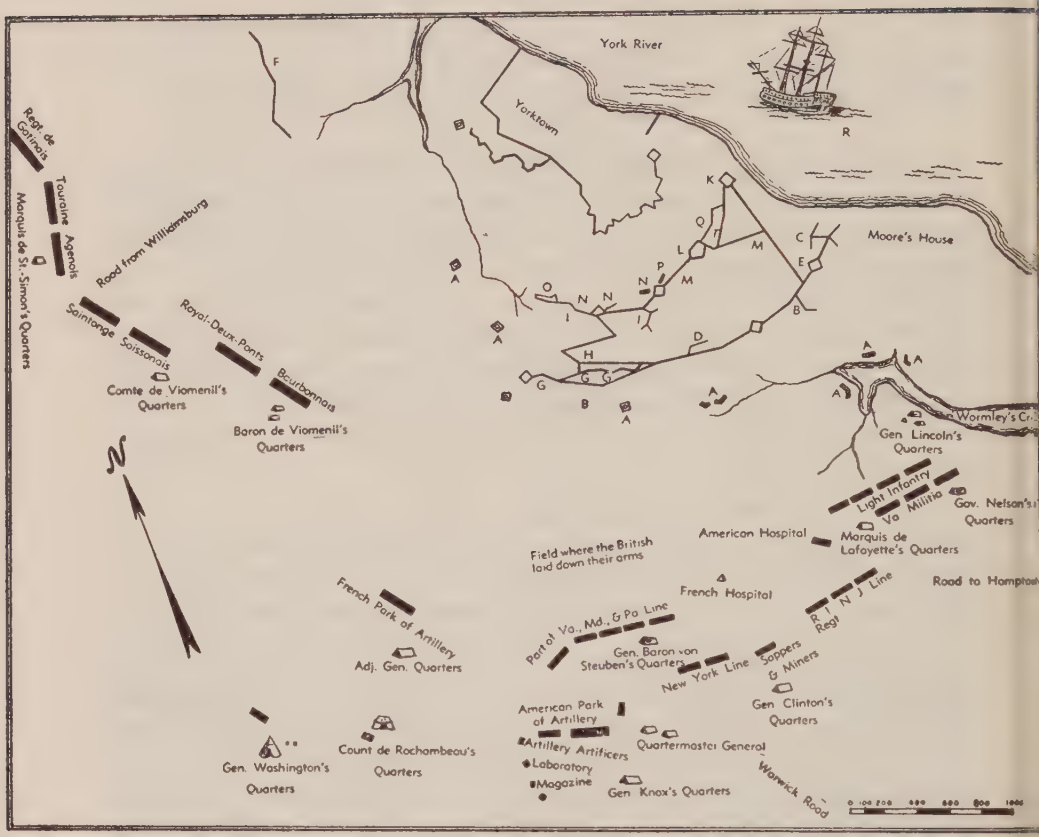
45. Capt. Aaron Aorson of the Third New York Regiment.

46. Quartermaster General, Col. Timothy Pickering.

47. Christopher Ludowick, Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XXIII, 166, 531.

48. Capt. Patrick Duffy of Pennsylvania was dismissed from the service, October 11, 1781. For the result of the trial, see the general orders below for October 10, 1781.

49. The order inserted between asterisks does not appear in the general orders of this date in the Fitzpatrick edition, *Writings of Washington*, XXIII, 165-67.



MAP OF THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN

The above map has been drawn after the "Plan of the Investment of York and Gloucester," taken by Maj. Sebastian Bauman, of the New York Second Regiment of Artillery, between October 22-28, 1781, and dedicated to Gen. Washington. **A** British exterior works evacuated night of Sept. 29. **B** the first parallel opened by the Allies the night of Oct. 6. **C** An American battery of three 18 and three 24 pounders, two howitzers, and two 10-in. mortars, opened Oct. 9. **D** Another American battery of four 18 pounders. **E** Bomb battery of four 10-in. mortars, opened Oct. 10. **F** A French battery of four 12 pounders, 6 mortars, and howitzers, opened Oct. 9. **G** Three French batteries consisting of 16 pieces of 18 and 24 pounders and 9-in. howitzers, opened Oct. 10. **H** A French bomb battery of six 13-in. mortars, opened the night of Oct. 10. **I** Part of the second parallel opened by Allies on the night of Oct. 11. **K** British redoubt stormed by the Americans on the night of Oct. 14. **L** Bastion redoubt stormed by the French at the same time. **M** Remainder of the second parallel was completed the same night. **N** Three French batteries in the second parallel of 16 pieces of 18 and 24 pounders. **O** French bomb battery designed for ten 13-in. mortars in the redoubt **K** which the Americans had opened Oct. 15 with two 8-in. howitzers and in the morning of Oct. 17 with two 18 pounders, and in the redoubt **L** with two 10-in. mortars. **P** American battery of four 18 pounders opened in the morning of Oct. 17. **Q** Another American battery in the second parallel designed for seven 18 pounders, three 24 pounders, 4 howitzers, eight 10-in. and ten 5½-in. royal mortars, part of which had opened Oct. 16. The battery was not complete when terms of capitulation were proposed by Lord Cornwallis and ratified Oct. 19. **R** Two French ships of war, sent by Count de Grasse-Tilly after the surrender to take charge of the British Marine.

Detail for Picquet[50] this night 3de Maryld. Regt. to parade[51] at 5 O Clock in the rear of the Works and receive orders from the General of the day,

Covering party Genl. Waynes Brigade to parade at the same time,— For fatigue to morrow Genl. Clintons Brigade to parade at the same time & place directed in the orders of Yesterday;

Cap[tains] Sub[alterns] Serj[ean]ts R[ank] & F[ile]

2 " 4 " 6 " 100 " from

General Mulenburghs Brigade for fatigue to parade in front of the 3de M. Regt. at 6 O Clock to morrow morning and take directions from the other Qr.Mr.Gl.;

[8a] Head Quarters before York October 2d 1781

General Orders

The Commander in Chief having orderd his own baggage Waggons to be sent to assist in the transportation of Ordnance and Stores, requests that all the waggons of the Generals, Field & other Officers may be employ'd in the same service as it is of the utmost consequence that the heavy Artillery should be brought up without a moments loss of time,

The Waggons to parade in the field near Head Quarters immediately,

Major [Nicholas] Fish is to appoint a member of the Court Martial orderd Yesterday instead of Major Bowman;

Head Quarters before York October 3de

General Orders } Brigadier Genl. Hazen
For the day } Lt. Col: Hamilton & Major Giles[52]
to morrow } B M: Blake[53]

[8b] The first Brigade of Light Troops will turn out to morrow morning at 6 O Clock for Fascine[54] making in the place of the new York Brigade who have this day been on that duty, they will parade in front of their own Encampment w[h]ere they will receive orders,

Captn Subs Serjts R&F

6 " 12 " 18 " 300 from Daytons Brigade for Picquet this night

50. Picket or guard duty.

51. "To parade," as used here, means to assemble.

52. Maj. Caleb Gibbs of the Second Massachusetts Regiment. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 170.

53. Capt. Leonard Bleeker, Brigade Major under Lafayette. *Ibid.*

54. A cylindrical bundle of branches or twigs used to revet trenches and embrasures. For a detailed description of their construction, see "Regulations (No. 36) for the Service of the Seige" in the general orders below for October 6, 1781.

to parade as usual; Covering party Hazens Brigade, working party for the Redoubts, Two field Officers
Cap Subs S

4 " 8 " 12 & 400 Rank & file from Waynes Brigade to be at the works by sun set this Evening, they will be reliev'd by an equal number of Officers & Men from the Militia by sun rise to morrow morning;

Head Quarters before York Octr. 4th

General Orders
For the day to morrow
Major General [Benjamin] Lincoln
Lt. Col: Adams
Major Willis[55]
B M Cox[56]

[9a] The Orders of the 5th July respecting the Assembly of the General Officers, and Heads of Departments at Head Quarters at 2 O Clock to be strictly attended to,

The QrMrGl is now, and upon every change of position, to furnish the General with a return of the Quarters of the General Officers, where[57] they are out of Camp, & those of the Heads of Departments, that there may be no difficulty in sending to them,

The orders for keeping the men supplied with two days provisions, especially bread is to be strictly Observ'd,

Every Deserter from the American Troops, after this public notice is given, who shall be found within the Enemies lines at York, if the place falls into our hands, will be instantly hanged; All such[58] parties of Militia and others coming into Camp are to be immediately reported to HdQrs.

Commanding Officers of Brigades and Corps are desired to make reports as soon as may be, of the Officers, non commission'd Officers, and Soldiers, of their respective Commands that have been Kill'd [9b] and wounded, since the arrival of the Army on this ground;—In future all Officers commanding parties, on any kind of Duty, are directed to make returns of their kill'd & wounded to the General officer of the Day, as soon as they are releav'd, that he may insert the same to the Commander in Chief;

55. Maj. John Plasgrave Wyllys of the Third Connecticut Regiment. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XXIII, 171.

56. Capt. Richard Cox of the Second New Jersey Regiment.

57. "Where" reads "when" in *Ibid.*

58. "Such" reads "fresh" in *Ibid.*

The General Congratulates the Army on the Brilliant success of the Allied troops, near Gloucester. He requests the Duke de Louzon,[59] to accept his particular thanks for the judicious disposition, and the decisive Valour[60] with which he charg'd the Enemy, and to communicate his warmest Acknowledgements to the gallant Officers and Men, by whom he was admirably seconded, he feels peculiar satisfaction in the inconsiderable loss on our side, that no ill effects are to be apprehended, from the Honorable wounds which have been receiv'd in this affair, and at [10a] so small an expence, the Enemy amounting to 600 Horse & foot were Compleatly repuls'd & reconducted to their very lines,—The Arms[61] of the Allied Army were the Duke De Louzon Legion, and the Militia Granadiers of [Lt. Col. John Francis] Mercer—The following is a list of our kill'd & wounded, and as far as can be collected of the Enemy's, The Dukes Legion lost 5[62] Huzzars kill'd, Captns. (Billy) [Robert Guillaume] Dillon, with a Deserter,[63] & Eleven Huzzars [Hussars] wounded, the Officers slightly, three Horses kill'd & four wounded, the Enemys loss in kill'd and wounded exceeds fifty, including the Commanding Officer of ye Infantry Kill'd, & Col: Tarlton badly wounded;[64]

Permission is granted to Sutlers to sell Liquors & Refreshments to the Army under such Regulations as the QrMrGl. shall establish, upon Compliance with which, they will meet with all encouragement, and Protection, in their Persons and property;

[10b] 6 Captains 12 Subalterns 18 Serjeants and 300 Rank & file, from Wayne's Brigade for Picquet this evening,—Covering party the Maryland Brigade to parade as usual,—for Fascine making to morrow Hazens Brigade to parade at 6 O Clock on their own parade, where they will receive orders; 400 Men properly Officered to parade to morrow morning at 6 O Clock from the Militia in front of Lawsons Brigade to make fascines &c. as may be directed;

59. Armand Louis de Gontaut Biron, Duc de Lauzun, was an adventuresome Frenchman who espoused the American cause. For the "brilliant success" referred to, see footnote 64 below.

60. "Valour" read "vigour" in *Ibid.*

61. "Arms" reads "corps" in *Ibid.*

62. "5" reads "3" in *Ibid.*

63. "Deserter" reads "Dutester" in *Ibid.* and is identified as "Dutertre," by Thomas Balch, *The French in America during the War of Independence of the United States, 1777-1783*, trans. by E. S. and E. W. Balch of *Les Francais en Amerique* (Philadelphia, 1895), II, 115.

64. The engagement herein referred to took place a few miles outside of the town of Gloucester, Virginia; Lauzun's and Mercer's troops had surprised Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton's foraging party which was returning to Gloucester with Indian corn. Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, pp. 128-29.

The Commander in Chief is pleas'd to order that in future, only such men, as are not expected to do duty with Arms, Vizt Genl. Field & Staff Offrs. servants, Waggoners, Butchers, Bakers, QrMrs. Commissaries, forage masters, Assistants and one Armourer from each Regt. in every Brigade to which a travelling forge is attached be return'd on extra Service, that all others on Duty in Camp on Garrison, whether with Arms, or fatigue, or oc- [11a] casionally employ'd as Artificers[65] (except guards placed for the security of magazines of Ammunition, Cloathing, or Provision not in Garrison) be returned present for Duty, and composed in the number fit for Action, that men detach'd beyond the ordinary limit of Camp or Garrison duty, whether the service they are order'd on, is to be perform'd with or without Arms, and all guards for magazines, not in Garrison be return'd on Command,—that the men on duty, Command, or extra Service be accounted for, with the utmost precision, specifying where they are, what duty they are on, time of absence, & by whom Orderd;[66]

Head Quarters before York Octr. 5th 1781

General Orders
For the day to morrow

Major General Baron Steuben
Lt. Col: Dumott[67]
Major Graham[68]
Brigade Major Anson

Major General The Marquis De La Fayette and [11b] Lt. Col: Harmer are appointed Officers of the Day (Alice) [slip of pen? Vice] Major Genl. Lincoln & Lt. Col. Adams on other Duty;

The General is surpris'd to find a quantity of Offal and other Offensive matters at different slaughter yards about Camp unburied, any Commissary who shall in future suffer any thing of the kind, will be arrested, there being also a number of Dead Horses and other putrid bodies about the Camp—the QrMrGl. is directed to apply to the Adjutant General[69] for a party to bury the same, to prevent any ill effects that may arise from suffering them to be longer above ground;

For picquet Olneys Regt.—Covering party Daytons, Cortlands, & Jen-

65. An artificer was one who prepared the firing mechanism for the artillery.

66. The orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in the Fitzpatrick edition, *Writings of Washington.*

67. Lt. Col. Jean Joseph Gimat, *Ibid.*, XXIII, 175, 523.

68. Maj. John Graham of the First New York Regiment.

69. Brig. Gen. Edward Hand of Pennsylvania.

nells[70] Regts. for making fascines to morrow, the Regiments of Butler, Stewart, & Roxburghs, Also 400 men properly Officer'd from the Militia to parade at 6 O Clock [12a] in the morning in front of the Pensylvania Line,

Head Quarters before York Octr. 6th 1781

General Orders
For the day to morrow } Brig: Genl. Clinton
Col: Voss, & Major Elneys
B. M. Fullerton

The Division Inspectors are to mount as Majors of the Trenches, with their respective Major Generals;

Brigadier General [Samuel] Elbert[71] is appointed superintendant of the Deposit of the Trenches and is to be Obey'd and respected as such in the execution of his functions, defined in the 9th and subsequent ["orders" crossed out], Articles of the Regulations of this date for the service of the Trenches;

Major [William] Galban [Galvan] is appointed Division Inspector to the Division Commanded by Major Genl. the Baron De Steuben;

The Commander in Chief congratulates the Army upon the late Victory obtain'd over the Enemy at Eustaw [*sic*] Springs in South Carolina, [12b] he returns his warmest Acknowledgements to General Green[e], for his Admirable general plan of Operations, and judicious dispositions on the present Occasion, & the examplary vigour with which he Conducted their execution, he requests him to Communicate the most grateful expressions of his Esteem to the gallant Officers, and Soldiers of whom he makes honorable mention for their Conduct on the 8th Septr., the National Military fame increas'd by the Atchievements of that day intitle each Individual who shared, ["to" crossed out] the thanks of their Country; General Green took upon this occasion 500 prisoners Including the wounded which the Enemey left[72] on the field, & supposes that their Loss in kill'd and wounded exclusive of this, could not be less than 600, his own loss in kill'd & wounded was about 500.

The Delaware Detachmt to join the Park of Artillery during the present Operations; & to receive orders from [Brigadier] Genl: [Henry] Knox;[73]

70. "Jennells" reads "Gimatts" in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 176.

71. Brig. Gen. Samuel Elbert commanded the Second Georgia Regiment as colonel and was also brigadier general in the Georgia militia. Heitman, *Historical Register*, p. 213.

72. "Left" reads "lost" in Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XXIII, 178.

73. The Delaware detachment, under Lt. Col. Charles Dabney, had heretofore been serving with the Third Maryland Regiment, according to the general orders, October 6, 1781. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 177.

[13a] Some rum being arriv'd one Gill Pr Man will be Issued to all non Commission'd Officers and Soldiers this Afternoon at 3 O Clock near General Stewbens [Steuben's] Marquee on returns sign'd by Officers Commanding Brigades, & one weeks allowance of Spirits to Officers agreeable to General Orders of August 1780, will be issued to morrow morning at 8 O Clock, on Regimental returns to be sign'd by the respective Colonels or Officers commanding Regiments, at the Magazine near the Commissary Generals Tent, those who neglect sending proper returns will have only themselves to blame if they loose their Dividend on this Occasion;

Half after 8 O Clock in the morning is in future to be the orderly hour, at which time the General Officers & Heads of Departments are to make their reports to Head Quarters, the Quarter masters of Brigades & Corps, are to make returns of their Camp Equipage to the QrMrGl. to morrow;

Detail 1 Sub & 40 Rank & file to parade with their Arms, at the forks of the road near Tarltons Old Camp at half past 5 this Evening, and [13b] take their orders from General Elbert;[74]

REGULATIONS FOR THE SERVICE OF THE SIEGE;

1st The service at the siege will be performed by Divisions alternately, the fatigue Men will be first detail'd out of the Division, and the remainder will form Batallions under their respective Commandants to guard the Trenches the first night, (there will be an exception to this rule) the first Regiments of each Brigade will that night form a Division, Commanded by Major General Lincoln.

2de The Division shall be warned for the Trenches, the preceeding evening, and they are to furnish guards when they mount their Trenches.

3de No Officer or Soldiers of Regiments commanded for the trenches will be excus'd from mounting unless he be sick, the quarter guard alone of each Regiment will remain in Camp.

4th The Major General of the Division which [14a] mounts, will be the Major General of the Trenches, the Brigadiers mount with their Brigades;

5th The General Officers of the Trenches, will reconoitre carefully all the Avenues, places of Arms, and Advantageous angles, that he may determine in consequence, the order and disposition of the Troops in case of an Attack. ————

6th The Inspector of the Division which mounts will do the duty of Major of the Trenches, he will make the detail of the Service, of the Troops

74. The orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 177-85.

during the 24 Hours he shall be there, and attend to the punctual Observance of Orders;

7th He will visit before hand all the posts of the trenches, & visit them again when the Troops are posted therein, in order to make a State of them, and communicate promptly to each, the orders of the General Officers near whom he his [is] to keep himself to receive them, each Brigade to send to the General of the Trenches, an Orderly Officer. ————

8th The Major of the Trenches will be instructed by the General Officers of the alarm post in case of a sally, [14b] and take care to inform the Troops of it,

9th An Officer of Rank will be appointed by the Commander in Chief to act as Superintendant of the deposit of the trenches, for the following important services during the whole Siege, Vizt.

To take charge of all the sand bags, fascines, Gabeens,[75] Hurdles and other materials deposited at the place which the Engineers will appoint, and keep an accurate state of them. ————

10th He is to deliver the sand bags, and necessary tools for the work, and take care that the tools are delivd up when they are no longer wanted. —

11th He will take care that there are Litters and Men ready to go with them to bring off the wounded. ————

12th He is to count all the Detatchments or[76] fatigue Men when they enter the Trenches, and make a report to the Adjutant General, ————

13th He will give billets for taking from the Deposits of Artillery the Ammunition which the Troops in the trenches may require, ————

[15a] 14th He will transmit a daily report to the Adjt. General of all the orders and certificates that he shall have given, as well as a State of the Deposits which shall have been committed to his care, ————

15th He will likewise transmit to the Adjutant Genl. a Return, Regimentally digested of all the kill'd and wounded, ————

16th He will above all watch over every thing that relates to order and regularity in the trenches, excepting the disposition of the Troops, which is the province of the Major of the trenches, ————

75. Gabions were cylinders constructed of branches or twigs and filled with earth; they were used as a portable section of a parapet or embrasure. For a detailed description, see "Regulations (No. 34) for the Service of the Siege" in general orders below for October 6, 1781.

76. "On" reads "of" in Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XXIII, 180.

17th The trenches shall be reliev'd every 24 hours unless a particular order to the contrary by the General, in which case the relief shall be in the rear of the others, ————

18th The General having fix'd the hour for mounting the trenches, and the parade of assembly, the relief is to be on the ground sufficiently before hand, to give the General Officers, and Adjutant General time for Inspection, ————

[15b] 19th When the troops shall have arriv'd the Major of the trenches shall form them in the order in which they are to occupy the Trenches, ————

20th Each Brigade previous to their entering the trenches will form a Picquet to consist of One Captn. One Subn., 3 Serjeants, and 50 Privates to be posted and employ'd as the General Officer shall think proper, the remainder of the Brigade will be form'd in the common order, ————

21st The Drums are to be equally distributed in front and rear of the Brigades, one only will march with each picquet that may be attached in the Trenches, ————

22de Each Batallion will send previous to the relieveing hour, and [an] orderly man to the tail of the trenches, to conduct the Troops that are to relieve them, ————

23de The Major of the trenches will distribute the orderly Men in such a manner, as they may conduct each relieving Corps, directly to the post which they are to occupy, ————

[16a] 24th When the relieving troops arrive those who Dismount accede them the side nearest the Epaulment;

25th All Troops either relieving or reliev'd will march with Drums beating and Colours flying, and carry Arms ["from" crossed out] to the place from whence they are to file off, when they will support their Arms,

26th When the Troops shall have taken their post in the trenches, the standard bearers will plant their Standards upon the Epaulments, and sentries will be posted with proper intervals, with orders to give notice whatever they may see coming out of the place, and of the Shells that may be thrown by the Enemy, ————

27th But no notice to be given, or any movements to be made of a Cannon shot,[77] some[78] bags will be disposed on the Epaulments of the Trenches to cover the Sentinels, ————

77. This portion of regulation No. 27 appears in the preceding one in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 181-82.

78. "Some" reads "sand" in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 182.

28th The Officers will cause each Soldier to work in his place, to enlarge the trench and Strengthen the Epaulments, ————

[16b] 29th No honours to be renderd in the trenches, when the Commander in Chief, and General Officers of the trenches visit them, the Soldiers will stand to their Arms facing the Epaulments, & ready to mount the banquet,[79] ————

30th When the Troops retire from the trenches they will march in revers'd Column, ————

31st When the Troops are out of the trenches the commanding Officers of Brigades will halt them in order to collect them, and give time for the junction and detach'd pickets, ————

32de The said Officers will examine whether any person be missing, and reconduct ["them" crossed out] his command in good and compact order to camp, suffering no stragglers to preceed the main body, ————

33de The Infantry are to make the number of Gabions &c ordered them, ————

[17a] 34th The Gabions are to be 3 feet high, including the ends of the picquets which are to enter the ground, they are to have 3½ feet Diameter[80] & to be form'd of 9 pickets each, of 2½ ["feet" crossed out] Inches Circumference, and interplaced with branchery strip'd of leaves, to be equally clos'd top and bottom, in order that they may not be larger at one end then at the other, ————

35th The hurdles shall be 6 foot long and 3 foot wide and shall be made of 9 pickets, each of 2½ to 3 inches in Circumference, equally distant from each other, and interwoven with stronger branchery then that employ'd for the Gabions;

36th The Fascines are to be 6 foot long and 6 inches through, to be made of Branchery, the twigs of which are to be Cross'd, to be bound with with's at each end and the middle, to each fascine three pickets of three feet long each and two or three Inches Diameter. ————

[17b] 37th The Brigades shall always have at the head of their Camp, their stated number of fascines, which they will replace in proportion as they are used, ————

38th The Commandants of Corps shall be responsable for the Observance of the dimensions of the materials employ'd in the trenches; inattention in in [*sic*] this point being very pernicious to the Service, ————

79. The banquette is a step or ledge within the parapet upon which the troops can stand and fire over the crest of the parapet.

80. The measurement given for the diameter is 2½ feet in *Ibid.*

39th Each Soldier going to the trenches, either to mount guard or to work, shall take with him a fascine to be left at the deposit of the trenches,

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40th The number of fatigue men orderd shall be punctually furnish'd, they shall be conducted by an Officer of each Regt. to the rendezvous w[h]ere the Brigade Major will see them, and the officer appointed to superintend the detail of the Siege (as mention'd in the 9th & 12th Articles) will see them enter the trenches and count them, ————

[18a] 41st When the fatigue men enter the trenche's the Officers will march agreeable to the regulations of the Army, each fatigue Man will take his tool, at the Deposit, and if they are arm'd; they will leave them piled under the guard of a Sentry, ————

42de Each Commandant of a Squad shall be charg'd with making the Soldiers which compose it work, and with keeping them in order, the Serjts. shall take care of two squads & the Officer with the totallity ———— (but the Captain shall be more particularly charg'd with the first, and the Lieutenant with the Second Division, ————

43de The fatigue men are to march near each other, & observe the greatest silence when the Engineers place them, ————

44th The Officers who command the fatigue parties will be constantly with their Detachment, and exactly observe the direction of the Engineers,

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[18b] 45th When the works is commenced they are to walk constantly along there detachment to make the Soldiers perform their duty, obliging them to cover themselves with alacrity, and afterwards to perfect there work,

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46th The Officers of covering parties will cause their Soldiers to set down; hinder them from quitting their musquets which they are to hold before them the butt on the ground, ————

47th The Advanc'd post's of such detachments as are commanded by non Commission'd Officers will remain prostrate untill the trench is sufficiently deep to cover a man to the waist, when the detachment with their advanc'd post will retire into the Trenches to occupy the head of the work which shall have been made.

48th In the Saps batteries and other places adjacent to the Deposit of Powder, no soldier is permitted to Smoak.

[19a] 49th In case of a Sally the fatigue Men are to retire briskly into some part of the Trenches w[h]ere they may not embarass the Troops, they are to retire in preferance to the place w[h]ere their Arms are lodg'd.

50th The troops will march briskly out of the trenches and repair to the place of Arms, in the batteries angles and avenues, which shall have been designated to them, from which they may defend it more Advantageously and take the Enemy in reverse or flank, taking particular care not to occupy the banquet for the defense of the Epaulment, but always to post themselves on[81] the reverse of the Trenches.

51st During the Sally all the Batteries will direct their fire upon the front of the attack, in order to disperse the besieg'd.

52de When the Troops shall have dispers'd the Enemy they are not to persue them, but wait the orders of their General Officer, to resume their post in the Trenche's.

[19b] 53de As soon as the attack is finish'd the Officers of fatigue will reconduct their detachments to work, and call the Roll, that any absent Soldier may be punish'd at the return to Camp.

54th At the hour for withdrawing the fatigue the detachments are to return in good order, and the officers are to report to the Commander of the Regt. what [h]as been the conduct of the Soldiers,[82] besides the fatigue Men of the trenches a sufficient detachment shall be given to the Superintendant of the deposits in the trench's whose service shall be for 24 hours, this Officer is to employ them in collecting the Tools, in making the different distributions in going with the Litters, and bringing the wounded to the Hospital of first dressing.

Half after 8 O Clock in the morning is in future to be the orderly hour, at which time the General Officers and Heads of departments are to make their reports to Headquarters.

The QrMrs. of Brigades & Corps are to make returns of all their Camp Equipage to the QrMrGl. to morrow,

[20a] Head Quarters before York 7th Octr. 1781

General Orders For the Trenches to morrow[83] } Major General Marquis De Lafayette, Brigr. Genl. Mulenberger, Brigr. Genl. Hazen

The Marquis De Lafayett's Division will mount in the trenches this day.

81. "On" reads "in" in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 184.

82. The succeeding regulation is numbered 55 in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 185.

83. "For the trenches tomorrow" reads "For the trenches today" in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 197. Maj. Gen. Baron von Steuben and Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne are listed "For the trenches tomorrow," in the general orders, October 7, 1781, *Ibid.*

The President & Members of the General court martial whereof Col: Dayton is president will attend to that duty untill they finish their business.

The Guards and fatigues for the trenches will mount daily at 12 O Clock they are to parade at 11 on the right of the Marquis De Lafayette's Division

Head Quarters before York 8th October.

General Orders For the Trenches to morrow } Major General Lincoln / Brigr. Genl. Clinton

Major General Lincoln's Division will mount the trenche's to morrow;

[20b] For the present the Jersey Troops under the immediate Command of Col: Dayton are to be form'd into One Batallion under the orders of Col: Ogden, Lt. Col [William] De Hart, & Major [John] Hollingshead.

The Regt. lately commanded by Col: Scammell is to be form'd into two Battalions, one to be commanded by Lt. Col: Huntington and Major [Nathan] Rice, the other by Lt. Col: [John] Laurens aid to the Commander in Chief and Major Cummins;[84]

Lt. Col: Laurens will join his corps whenever it mounts the trenches;

The Commander in Chief is extremely sorry to see that notwithstanding there is aplenty of Wood in the vicinity of Camp, a practice prevails of burning rails, and thereby adding distresses to the inhabitants who have sufficiently suffer'd by the ravage's of the War; he calls in the most express manner upon the Commanding Officers of Corps to put a stop to so pernicious a practice.

*Brigade Orders..

Park of Artillery 8th October

Delawares to furnish 1 Sub: 1 Corpl: 8 Pri } for ye Batteries*[85]

[21a] Head Quarters before York 9th Octr. 1781

General Orders For the trenches to morrow } Major General Marquis De Lafayette / Brigr. Genl. Mulenburger / Brigr. Genl. Hazen

The Marquis De Lafayette's Division will mount the trenches to morrow

The General has been inform'd that there are in the possession of some Officers of the Army Negroes who have come out of York, if there are any

84. Maj. John Noble Cumming (Cummings) of the First New Jersey Regiment.

85. These orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 198-200.

a report of them is to be made to the Adjutant General, and if any Officer should be found after this notice keeping a Negro in his service under the above descriptions he may depend upon being call'd to the severest Acct. —— this order is to extend to the Officers of the Militia as well as those of the Continental Troops;

A Return of the shoes actually wanted by the Continental Troops to be made to the Adjutant General this afternoon at 4 O Clock, the Regimental Clothiers to call at the (Clothiers Store) near Commy. Irvins [Commissary Matthews Irvine] at 8 O Clock to morrow morning, for their respective proportions;

[21b] A Return of the names, dates of Inlistments, times of service, and place of abode; of the non commission'd officers, and Privates belonging to the State of Connecticut now serving in Col: [John] Lambs Regiment of Artillery, and in the company of Artificers annexed to the Artillery from Col: [Jedutham] Baldwins Regiment reduc'd, and to be given into the Adjutant Generals office as soon as may be;

*Each Regiment as well continental as militia that is not intirely on duty will this day, & each succeeding day until further orders furnish three Saucissons[86] and three Gabions, the saucissions to be 15 or 16 feet long each, and 12 Inches diameter and well bound with withs

Six Pickets of the dimentions orderd in the Regulations for the Fascines to be furnish'd with each saucisson,

The Gabions of the dimensions order'd in the Regulations,*[87]

Persons whose duty does not call them into the trenches, and who Assemble there to indulge [22a] curiosity are to walk in the reverse of the trenches that they may not interrupt the works — the Officers superintending the fatigue parties is to be particularly attentive to the execution of this order

The Regimental Surgeons are to deliver returns of the sick of their respective Regiments at the flying hospital every Saturday at 12 O Clock

After Orders

The Engineers having made a demand for a large quantity of materials for the trenches, which cannot be dispens'd with, without great prejudice to the Service, the General expects he needs not say more to induce the Com-

86. A saucisson is similar to a fascine but of greater length and containing a train of powder through the center. Its principal use was as a powder train for setting off mines or similar charges.

87. These orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 202-4.

manding Officers of Divisions, Brigades, & Corps to furnish their proportion as hereafter mentioned and have them delivered at the reverse of the trenches at 5 O Clock this Evening,

Mulenburgers Brigade

60 Saucissons
80 Fascines
200 Palisades
800 Pickets

[22b]

Hazens Brigade	Waynes Brigade
59 Saucissons	60 Saucissons
80 Fascines	85 Fascines
200 Palisades	200 Palisades
800 Pickets	80 Pickets[88]

Gists Brigade	Militia Brigade
54 Saucissons	67 Saucissons
71 Fascines	89 Fascines
190 Palisades	210 Palisades
760 Short Pickets	840 Short Pickets

The Saucissons to be from 9 to 18 feet long, the Palisades to be 12 feet long pointed at one end;[89]

Head Quarters before York 10th Octr. 1781

General Orders
For the trenches
to morrow
Major General Baron De Steuben
Brigr. Genl: Wayne
Brigr. Genl: Gist

Baron De Steubens Division will mount the trenches to morrow, ———

[23a] *Park of Artillery 10th Octr. 1781

Brigade Orders

The Detachment of Delawares will relieve the magazine guard, with

	1 Sub:	1 Serjt.	1 Corpl. &	16 Privates for the Batteries
	0	0	1 do	10 do
Detail	1 "	1 "	2 "	26 " *[90]

88. The figures given in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 204, for the various requirements for each brigade differ as follows: Hazen's, 60 saucissons; Wayne's, 800 pickets.

89. The orders inserted between asterisks are included in the general orders of October 10, 1781, in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 205.

90. The orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 204-5.

Head Quarters before York 11th October

General Orders For the trenches to morrow } Major General Lincoln Brigr. Genl. Clinton

Major General Lincolns Division will mount the trenches to morrow

After Orders

At a General Court Martial of the line held at Camp before York Octr. the 2de and continued by adjournment whereof Col: Dayton is President, Captn: Duffy of the fourth Regiment of Artillery, (charg'd with fraudulous[91] and infamous behaviour, unbecoming the character of an Officer & Gentleman on the nights of the 23de & morning of the 24th September last) such as drawing his sword on Captn. Ballard,[92] [23b] attempting to stab him, and firing a Pistol at him when unarm'd, also for a most disgraceful breach of Friendship, in seizing from Lt. [George] Blewer a loaded pistol and snapping it at him when attempting at Captn. Duffy's own request an amicable settlement of his (Captn. Duffys) quarrel with Captn. Ballard — Also charg'd by Lt. Colonel Stewart with first being drunk, Secondly Rioting in the Streets, 3dly abusing a french Soldier, 4thly violation of good Discipline in having in a Seditious disorderly manner threatned to take a french guard station'd at the Hospital for the security of the sick, — Was tried

The Court after mature consideration are of Opinion that Captn. Duffy drew a sword on Captn. Ballard and attempted to stab him when unarm'd on the evening of the 23de September, and on the morning of the 24th drew his sword on Captain Ballard he having one by his side, that Captn. Duffy also seized a pistol from Lt. Blewer and snap'd it at [24a] him on the before mention'd evening declaring he would shoot him, when Lt. Blewer was at Captn. Duffy's own request on an amicable settlement of his quarrel with Captn. Ballard, it does not appear to the Court that Captn. Duffy fired on Captn. Ballard or that the pistol Captn. Duffy seiz'd from Lt. Blewer was loaded,

The Court are of Opinion that Captn. Duffy's conduct as found — is a Breach of the Article 21st Section 14th of rules and articles of War,[93] and Sentence him to be Discharg'd the Service. ———

91. "Fraudulous" reads "scandalous" in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 206.

92. Capt. Jeremiah Ballard of the Second New Jersey Regiment.

At the same Court Lt. [William] Mundy [Munday] of the 2de New York Regiment charg'd with wilful disobedience of orders and neglect of Duty on the 21st Febry. last. The Court on mature deliberation are of Opinion that Lt. Mundy is guilty of the charge's against him. and is a breach of the latter part of Article the 5th Section 2de of the Rules & Articles of War,[94] and Sentence him to be Dismiss'd the Service. ————

The Commander in Chief approves the foregoing Sentences. ————

[24b] Head Quarters before York Octr. 12th 1781

General Orders For the trenches to morrow } Major General Marquis De Lafayette, Brigr. Genl. Mulenburger, Brigr. Genl. Hazen

The Marquis Delafayette's Division mount in the trenches to morrow

*Park of Artillery 12th October

Brigade Orders

S S C P

The Delawares to furnish 1 " 1 " 1 " 15 for the Batteries*[95]

Head Quarters before York 13th October

General Orders For the trenches to morrow } Major General Baron De Steuben, Brigr. Genl. Wayne, Brigr. Genl. Gist

Major General Baron De Steuben's Division will mount the trenches to morrow

One Weeks allowance of Spirits will be issued to officers of the line to morrow at 10 O Clock near Barons Steubens on Regimental returns sign'd by the Officers Commanding Regiments or Corps;

93. The regulation prescribed by Article 21, Section 14, of the American Articles of War of 1776 is as follows: "Whatsoever commissioned officer shall be convicted, before a general court-martial, of behaving in a scandalous, infamous manner, such as is unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, shall be discharged from the service." George B. Davis, *A Treatise on the Military Law of the United States* . . . (2nd ed.; New York, 1904), p. 616.

94. The regulation prescribed by Article 5, Section 2, of the American Articles of War of 1776 is as follows: "Any officer or soldier who shall strike his superior officer, or draw, or shall lift up any weapon, or offer any violence against him, being in the execution of his office, on any pretence whatsoever, or shall disobey any lawful command of his superior officer, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall, according to the nature of his offence, be inflicted upon him by the sentence of a court-martial." *Ibid.*, p. 603.

95. These orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XXIII, 216.

[25a] The Qr.Mr.Gl. having represented that there is at present a very unequal distribution of Tents among the Continental Troops, whereby some corps are expos'd, and others fully cover'd, in order to remedy this inequality, and that Troops sharing the same fate and fatigues may enjoy equal benefits — The following Corps are directed to send to the Qr.Mr.Gls store to morrow by noon, the tents set against their names respectively; being the surplus of their distribution Vizt. .

Hazens.....	Brigade.....	16	Common	Tents	
Clintons.....	do	5	Hosmans.....	54	do
Daytons.....	do	7	do	.....	
Waynes.....	do	.....	37	do	
Gists.....	do	.....	13	do[96]	

As General Hazens Brigade will be in the trenches to morrow untill noon, they will be excus'd from sending in their surplus Tents untill the morning following,

As soon as the Tents are lodg'd in the Store the Qr.Mr.Gl. will distribute them among the different Corps;

[25b] *Park of Artillery 13th October 1781

Brigade Orders

	S	S	C	P
Delaware Detachment to furnish	1 "	1 "	1 "	18

for magazine Guard.*[97]

Head Quarters before York 14th October

General Orders For the trenches to morrow } Major General Lincoln / Brigr. Genl. Clinton

Major General Lincolns Division to mount in the trenches to morrow. The Effects of the late Col: Scammell's[98] will be dispos'd of at Public

96. Seven horsemen's tents for Hazen's Brigade and five for each of Wayne's and Gist's were described as surplus in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 217.

97. "The Brigade of Artillery is to furnish one Horseman's tent and twelve common tents to the companies of the Delaware regiment attached to it." *Ibid.*, XXIII, 218. The orders inserted above between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 217-20.

98. Colonel Alexander Scammell was reconnoitering September 28 when he was surprised by a group of Hessian cavalrymen, one of whom mortally wounded him. He died October 6, 1781. Lossing, *Field-Book of the Revolution*, I, 430.

Vendue, to morrow at 3 O Clock P. M at Major Rice's Tent in General Hazens Brigade.

The Post in future will leave Camp every Friday at One O Clock.[99]

There is no entry in Bennett's orderly book for October 14, but it is worth noticing that Captain David Kirkpatrick, a Delawarean, was wounded on this date. The unit of sappers and miners, with which he was serving, contained, at least for administrative purposes, sixty Delaware recruits; however, no evidence is available that would indicate any other Delawareans were with him in this action. The particular assault in which Kirkpatrick was wounded was a bayonet charge into the British redoubts. This action plus the sustained artillery barrage prompted Cornwallis to write to General Sir Henry Clinton on October 15, "Last evening the enemy carried two advanced redoubts on the left by storm, and during the night have included them in their second parallel. . . . My situation here becomes very critical . . . . The safety of the place is, therefore, so precarious that I cannot recommend that the fleet and army should run any great risk to save us."[100]

Head Quarters before York 15th Octr.

General Orders For the trenches to morrow } Major General Marquis Delafayette / Brigr. Genl. Mulenburger / Brigr. Genl. Hazen

[26a] Major General Marquis De Lafayette's Division will mount the trenches to morrow.

The Commander in Chief congratulates the Allied army on the success of the enterprize last evening[101] against the two important works on the left of the Enemies line, he requests the Baron Viominile [Antoine du Houx, Baron de Viomenil] who commanded the french granadiers & chasseurs,[102] and the Marquis Delafayette who commanded the American Light Infantry to accept his warmest acknowledgements for the excellency of their disposi-

99. This order inserted between asterisks does not appear in the general orders of this date in Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XXIII, 222.

100. Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, pp. 146, 148.

101. On the night of October 12, the second parallel was secured. *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68.

102. Light troops.

tions, and for their own gallant conduct upon the occasion, and he begs of them to present his thanks to every individual Officer and to the men of their respective Commands, for the spirit and rapidity with which they advanc'd to the attacks assign'd them, and for the admirable firmness with which they supported them, under the fire of the Enemy without returning a shot. ———

The General reflects with the highest degree of pleasure on the confidence which the Troops of the two *Nations,* must hereafter have in each [26b] other assured of mutual support, he is convinc'd there is no danger which they will not chearfully encounter, no difficulties which they will not bravely overcome.

The Troops will be supplied with fresh beef to thursday next inclusive, they will receive three pints of Salt to every 100 Rations for the allowance of Wednesday and Thursday. ———

*Park of Artillery 15th October 1781

Brigade Orders

C P

Delaware Detachmt, to furnish 1 " 6 for fatigue*[103]

Head Quarters before York 16th Octr.

General Orders	Major General Baron De Steuben
For the trenches	Brigr. Genl: Wayne
to morrow	Brigr. Genl: Gist

Major General Baron De Steubens Division will mount in the Trenches to morrow.

The Commander in Chief having observ'd that the trenches are constantly crowded by [27a] Spectators, who by passing and repassing prevent the Men from working, and thereby greatly impede the operations of the siege, he therefore orders that no officer who is not on duty shall hereafter enter the trenches except General Officers and their Aids and that no inhabitant or person not belonging to the Army be suffer'd to enter the trenches at any time without permission from the Major General of the day.[104]

In future the relief for the Trenches are not to beat their Drums after they pass the Mill Dam, they are from that place to march silently with

103. These orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington,* XXIII, 223.

104. "Day" reads "trenches" in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.,* XXIII, 234.

trail'd Arms and colours furled untill they arrive at their post ["at" crossed out] in the Trenches.

Lt. Col: De Hart being releas'd from his Arrest, the Court Martial of which Col: Cortland is President will proceed to the trial of the persons confined in the Provost.

*The Brigade of Artillery is to furnish One Hosman [horseman] & twelve common Tents to the two Companies of the Delaware Regiment attach'd to it. ————

[27b] The Brigade Qr.Mr. is to be responsible that a due proportion of good tents are deliver'd;*[105]

After Orders

The Inspector acting as Major in the trenches is desired to be very particular in making a return of the Officers and men kill'd and wounded in the trenches, as well Militia as Continental during their tour, which they will deliver into the Superintendant of the Deposit of the trenches immediately on being reliev'd;

Head Quarters before York 17th Octr. 1781

General Orders For the trenches to morrow } Major General Lincoln / Brigr. Genl: Clinton

Major General Lincoln's Division will mount in the trenches to morrow

*Park of Artillery 17th October

	S	S	C	P	
Brigade Orders Delawares to furnish	1	1	1	15	for the Batteries
	1	1	1	18	for the Magazine
	0	0	1	6	for fatigue
Detail	2	2	3	39*[106]	

105. These orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 233-34.

106. These orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 234.

[28a] Head Quarters before York 18th Octr. 1781

General Orders
For the trenches
to morrow } Major General Marquis De Lafayette
Brigr. Genl: Mulenburger
Brigr. Genl: Hazen

*Park of Artillery 18th October

Brigade Orders

S C P

Delaware's to furnish 1 " 1 " 12 for the Batteries

Park of Artillery 19th October

Brigade Orders

S C P

Delawares to furnish 1 " 1 " 12 for the Batteries

Park of Artillery 20th October

Brigade Orders

Sub S C P

Delawares to furnish 0 " 1 " 1 " 12 for fatigue in York
" " 1 " 8 for Do with the Park
1 " 1 " 0 " 9 for Magazine Guard

Detail 1 " 2 " 2 " 29*[107]

[28b] (In York) Head Quarters 20th October 1781

General Orders

The General congratulates the Army on the glorious events of Yesterday,[108] the generous proof's of which his most Christian Majesty[109] has given; his attachment to the cause of America, must force conviction on the minds of the most deceiv'd among the Enemy, relative to the good consequences of the Alliance, and inspire every Citizen of these States with Sentiments of the most unalterable gratitude, his Fleet the most numerous and powerful that ever appear'd in these Seas, Commanded by an Admiral whose fortune and Talents insure great Events; — An Army of the most admirable composition both in Officers and Men, are the pledges of his friendship to the United States, and their cooperation has secured us the present signal success.

The General on this present Occasion entreats his Excellency the Count De Rochambeau to [29a] accept his most grateful Acknowledgements for his

107. These orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of these dates in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 238, 239, 244-47.

108. At two o'clock in the afternoon of October 19, the British troops marched out and lay down their arms. Johnstown, *Yorktown Campaign*, p. 155.

109. Louis XVI, King of France.

councils and assistance at all times, he presents his warmest thanks to the Generals Baron De Viominile, Chevalier Chateleux [Chastellux], Marqs. De St. Simon [Saint-Simon-Montblern], Count De Viominile; and Brigadr. General [Marquis] De Choisy who had a seperate Command, for the Illustrious manner in which they have advanc'd the ["common cause" crossed out] interest of the common cause, he requests that Count Rochambeau will be pleas'd to communicate to the army under his immediate Command the high sense he entertains of the distinguish'd merits of the officers and Soldiers of every Corps, and that he will present in his name to the Regiments of Aujinois and Duponts[110] the two pieces of Brass Ordnance captured by them as a testimony of their gallantry in storming the Enemies Redoubt on the night of the 14th Instant, when Officers and Men so universally vied with each other in the exercise of every Soldiery Virtue. ——

[29b] The Generals thanks to each individual of merit would comprehend the whole army, but he thinks himself bound however by affection, duty, and gratitude, to express his obligations, to Majors Generals, Lincoln, Fayette, and Steuben for their dispositions in the trenches to General Duportail, and Col: Carney [Ethis de Corny] for the vigour and knowledge which were conspicuous in their conduct of the attacks, and to General Knox and Col: Dabeville[111] for their great care attention and fatigue in bringing forward the Artillery and Stores, and for their judicious and spirited management of them in the parallels. ——[112]

He requests the abovemention'd Gentlemen to communicate his thanks to the Officers and Soldiers of their respective Commands;

Ingratitude which the General hopes never to be guilty of would be conspicuous in him was he to omit thanking in the warmest terms His Excellency Governor Nelson for the aid he [30a] has deriv'd from him, and from the Militia under his Command, to whose activity, emulation, and Courage much applause is due, the greatness of the acquisition will be an ample compensation for the hardships and hazzards which they encounterd with so much patriotism & firmness.

In order to difuse General joy in every breast, the General orders that

110. The general orders, October 20, 1781, in Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, XXIII, 246, lists as the two regiments to receive these awards those of Gattinois (Gatinais) and Deux-Ponts.

111. Francois Marie, Comte d'Aboville, commander in chief of the French artillery in America. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 246n.

112. A citation for which the Delaware recruits could feel partly responsible.

those men belonging to the Army who may now be in confinement shall be pardon'd, releas'd, and join their respective Corps.

Divine Service is to be perform'd in the several Brigades and Divisions to morrow — The Commander in Chief, commands that the Troops not on Duty should universally attend, with that seriousness of deportment, and gratitude of heart, with the recognition which such reiterate and astonishing interpositions of providence demand of us. ——

[30b] *Park of Artillery 21st October 1781

Brigade Orders

The General thanks Captn. [William] McKennan & the Officers and Soldiers of his Corps who have been annex'd to the Artillery, for the Zeal and alacrity with which they have perform'd the several duties assign'd them, and assures that Corps that he shall ever retain the most grateful sense of their services on this occasion,

S C P

Delawares to furnish 1 " 0 " 9 for fatigue*[113]

Head Quarters near York 21st October

General Orders

Major General to morrow Baron De Steuben

Lt. Col: Antill

B. M Fish

The troops are to be in readiness to march at the shortest notice,

The Regt. under Col: [Thomas] Craig is to join Wayne's Brigade, and Gaskins to join Genl. Gists, As it is represented that there are a number of deserters from the American Army among [31a] the prisoners taken at the surrender of York and Gloster, it is directed that an Officer of every corps or state line, with a number of Non Commission'd Officers which know their deserters, may attend when the prisoners are assembled to march, to point out and apprehend those of ["them" crossed out] their respective Corps,

113. These orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 251-52.

Head Quarters near York 22de Octr. 1781

General Orders
For the day to morrow
Brigr. Genl: Clinton
Lt. Col: Barber
Major Gibbs
B M Fullerton

Gists Brigade for duty to morrow,

*Two pioneers from each Regt. and Corps to be sent immediately to Col: Pickerings Quarters to be continued on duty from day to day untill dismiss'd by the Qr.Mr.Gl.;

After Orders

The Biscuit taken from the Enemy is not to be issued without a General Order;

At a General Court Martial of the line whereof, [31b] Col: Cortland is president, Lt. [James] Arthur of the 3de Maryland Regiment was tried — first for disobedience of Orders of the 13th Instant, 2dly conduct prejudicial to the service & unbecoming an Officer in returning himself unfit for duty for some time past, when during that period he made frequent and distant excursions on parties of pleasure, where his conduct and behaviour indicated no real indisposition;

The Court on consideration are of Opinion that Lt. Arthur is guilty of the first charge against him, and is a breach of Article 5 Section 18 of the Rules and Articles of War; they acquit him of the 2de charge, The Court in consequence of his being guilty of the 1st charge, Sentence him to be reprimanded in Brigade Orders. ——

The Commander in Chief approves the opinion of the Court, ——

[32a] Two Captains 4 Subs, 6 Serjts and 200 Rank & file from the Marquis De Lafayette's Division to parade to morrow morning at 8 O Clock on their division parade, they are to assist in collecting and removing the Military Stores at York & Gloster — Major Doughty will attend at the above place to conduct them;*[114]

*Park of Artillery 22de Octr. 1781

Brigade Orders	S	S	C	P	
Delawares to furnish	1	1	1	18	for Magazine Guard
23de Do	"	1	1	6	for Commissaries do*[115]

114. These orders inserted between asterisks appear in the general orders of October 23, 1781, in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 254-55.

115. These orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 252. For the general orders of October 23, see pp. 254-55.

Head Quarters near York 24th Octr.

General Orders
For the day to morrow
Brigr. Genl: Gist
Lt. Col: [Robert] Cochran
Major Cummins
B M Hobby

Brigr. Genl: Clintons Brigade for duty to morrow to parade as usual[116]—

Untill further orders it is expected that one of the field Officers of the Day will stay constantly [32b] in York during his Tour, to whom the Head's of the Staff Departments are to apply, for assistance in Collecting and securing the Stores in their several Departments; The Officer who remains in York is himself, to visit the several guards and fatigue parties on duty there as often as convenient and order the Inspector of the day, who will attend him to do it at other times;

After Orders

500[117] Men from Mulenburger's Brigade will parade to morrow morning at 7 O Clock, on the right of the first parallel line, to level the works, they will be commanded by two field Officers and a proportion of Captains and Subalterns — Application must be made this evening to the Qr.Mr.Gl. for tools. —

*Park of Artillery 25th Octr.

Brigade Orders

S S C P

Delawares to furnish 1 " 1 " 1 " 25 to go over the River to Gloster. ____*[118]

[33a] Head Quarters near York 25th Octr. 1781

General Orders

Brigr. Genl: Hazens brigade to furnish the guards and fatigue parties ["parties" crossed out] for York to morrow,

The Inspector of the Division which furnishes the guards for the day, will wait on Major Genl. St. Clair for orders,

116. "To parade as usual" is missing in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 262.

117. "Two hundred" is the figure given in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 263.

118. These orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 264-65.

Genl. Waynes Brigade will furnish the party for levelling the works to morrow.

In future the guards will mount at 8 O Clock,

After Orders

It having been represented that many Negroes & Mulatoes, the property of Citizens of these States have concealed themselves on board the Ships in this harbour, that some continue still to attach themselves to British Officers, and that others have attempted to impose themselves upon the Officers of the French and American Armies as freemen, and to make their Escape in that manner, in order to prevent their succeeding [33b] in such practices all Officers of the Allied Army and other persons of every denomination concern'd are directed not to suffer any such Negroes or Mulatoes to be retain'd in their service, but on the contrary to cause them to be deliverd to the guards which will be establish'd for their reception at one of the Redoubts at York, and another in Gloster;

Mr. David Ross will have the superintendency, and will give passes to enable them to return to their masters, or where that is not practicable will have directions to make other provision for them, any Negroes or Mulatoes who are free, upon proving the same will be left at their own disposal,

The Gentlemen of the American Army who have made returns to the Orderly Office of Negroes in their possession agreeable to the order of the 9th Instant are desired to deliver them to the above Mr. David Ross; ——

[34a] This day or to morrow the General Officer of the day is requested to establish a Guard in York, and the Commandant at Gloucester another at that post for the reception of Negroes, agreeable to the above order, ——

Discharging of fire Arms in the vicinity of Camp is prohibited on pain of immediate & examplary punishment:

Head Quarters near York 26th Octr. 1781

General Orders
For the day to morrow

Major General St. Clair
Lt. Col: Harmer
Major [Evan] Edwards
B M Cox

The Maryland Brigade to furnish the Guards & fatigue parties for York to morrow,

*Park of Artillery 26th Octr.

Brigade Orders

Sub S C P

Delawares to furnish 1 " 1 " 1 " 20 to go to Trebells Landing, ____*[119]

[34b] Head Quarters near York 27th Octr. 1781

General Orders
For the day to morrow
Major General Lincoln
Col: Dayton[120]
Major Alexander
B M Anson

Those Regiments who have not furnish'd their proportion of Men to the Sappers and Minors, agreeable to the order of the 28th of May last are now to do it, and the men that have return'd to the Pensylvania Line from that Corps, are immediately to be replac'd,

General Mulenburgers Brigade to furnish the Guards and fatigue parties for York to morrow, and Clintons Brigade with Hazens[121] Regimt. will be employ'd in levelling the works;

After Orders

The United States in Congress Assembled September 28th 1781
Resolv'd

That it be and is hereby recommended to the several States of which the General Officers [35a] of the army are Inhabitants, to settle with them for their depreciation of pay on the principles adopted in settlement with the Officers of their respective lines;

119. These orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 264-65.

120. Col. Matthias Ogden, rather than Col. Dayton, is listed as one of the officers of the day in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 275.

121. Col. Ogden's, rather than Col. Hazen's, regiment is listed as one of those to level the works in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*

Head Quarters near York 28th Octr. 1781

General Orders
For the day to morrow
Majr. Genl. Marquis Delafayette[122]
Col: Richard Butler
Major Roxburgh
B M: Fullerton

General Hazens brigade for guards and fatigue to morrow, and General Waynes for levelling the works;

*Park of Artillery 28th October

Brigade Orders

	S	C	P
Delawares to furnish	1	1	12 for fatigue

29th October

	S	C	P
Delawares to furnish	1	1	12 for fatigue*[123]

[35b] Head Quarters near York 29th Octr. 1781

General Orders
For the day to morrow
Brigr. Genl: Wayne
Lt. Col: Antill
Major Fish
B. M. [Capt. Abraham] Williams

The 3de Maryland Regt. and Col: Hogdens [Ogden's] Regt. for Guards & fatigues in York town to morrow, and the 4th Maryland & the first New York Regts. Will be employ'd in levelling the work's;

The Brigade which furnishes this days guard in York will also furnish three Serjeants and thirty privates to bury the dead[124] carcases and cover other putrid matter in York town, the Qr.Mr. as the Brigade or in his absence one of of the Regimental Qr.Mrs. will take charge of the party, and be answerable that the duty is perform'd, If there be not tools in ye Brigade the Quarter Master General will furnish them. ——

122. Brig. Gen. James Clinton, rather than the Marquis de La Fayette, is listed as the officer of the day in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 283.

123. These orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of these dates in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 283-84, 287-88.

124. "To bury the dead carcases" reads "to bury the Dead bodies and Carcases" in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 288.

[36a] *Park of Artillery 30th July [Oct.] 1781
Brigade Orders

	S	C	P	
Delawares to furnish	1	" 1	" 12	for fatigue
31st do	1	" 1	" 12	for fatigue*[125]

Head Quarters near York 30th Octr. 1781

General Orders
For the day to morrow
Brigr. Genl. Gist
Lt. Col: [Cornelius] Vandyke
Major Rice
B M Hobby

The 2de Regiment of New York and Lt. Col: Barbers Batallion will furnish the Guards and the fatigues, parties to morrow,

Vosse's & Gematts Batallions for fatigue for levelling the works,

In Persuance of the determination of a board of General Officers, setting for[th] the means by which the Officers of the Army may receive a generous benefit from that article of the Capitulation wch entitles them to a right of preemption of the goods in the possession of the Traders in York & Gloster [36b] at the time of Surrender of those posts;

The Commander in Chief is pleas'd to direct that every Officer who came here with the Army, (coming under the following description) receive on Acct. of his pay the amount ["of his pay" crossed out] of twenty pounds (Dollars at 6/each), Vizt: General Officers and their families, and other Military Staff's, regimental Officers, the Offrs. of the Hospital, the Chaplains, the Qr. Mr. Gl. the Commy. Genl. and their Deputies, (but not to include the Deputies of Deputies) that an Offr. from each Brigade be appointed to take up the goods, from the traders for the Officers of their respective Brigades, whose receipt shall intitle them to payment, the Officers appointed by the Brigades to purchase for them are to be furnish'd with a list of the names of the Offrs. they are to Act for, and the Specific Articles they are to purchase for them, attested by the [37a] Officer commanding the Brigade, which lists are to be produced to the Commander in Chief, as soon as the purchase is compleated;

General Officers and heads of Departments not connected with Brigades, are themselves to purchase for the persons intitled, or give written Authority

125. These orders inserted between asterisks do not appear in the general orders of this date in *Ibid.*, XXIII, 299-302.

to one person in their respective Departments to do it for them, who is to be furnish'd with lists similar to those already mention'd, —

The Brigades & Corps having ballotted for priority of Purchase are to be serv'd in the following Order, Vizt:

1st Dragoons
2de Waynes Brigade
3de Gists Brigade
4th Hazens do.
5th Muhlenburghs do.
6th Artillery
7th Sappers & Minors
8th Clintons Brigade
9th Daytons do.
10th The Chaplains, Qr.Mrs., Commys, & Hospital Departmen[ts]

[37b] The General Officers and families to purchase at such time as they think proper;

All persons appointed to purchase for each Brigade, and seperate department will have a Certificate of their appointment from Mgr. General [Arthur] St. Clair, the persons who purchase the Articles wanting for the left wing from Count Rochambeau;

The Regimental paymasters to take receipts from each Officer as so much pay, and transmit an Acct. of the Aggregate sum to the Paymaster General to be by him charg'd to the Regiment, where Officers are unconnected with Brigades, their Accounts to be transmitted to the Pay Master General by the General Officers to whom they are attach'd, and the Heads of Departments to which they belong.

Untill the purchases above authoriz'd are Compleated and the same announc'd by a General order, no person whatsoever is permitted to purchase at private Credit;

[38a] The Troops and British prisoners except those in the Hospital, to draw five days provisions of Corn'd beef, the Commissaries to issue with the ["the" crossed out] beef, half the quantity of salt allow'd to fresh beef;

One weeks allowance of Spirits to be issued to the Officers to morrow at the Magazine in York town at 10 O Clock ——

November 4th 1781 join'd General Gists Brigade, and began our March to join Genl. Greens Army in South Carolina. ——

The brief entry for November 4, 1781, marks the end of Caleb Bennett's orderly book. After the battle of Yorktown, the detachment from Delaware, along with the Pennsylvania and Maryland Continentals, marched southward, the total force numbering two thousand troops. For subsistence they drove along a herd of four hundred beef cattle, a burden which, when added to the normal hazards of a lengthy march, no doubt accounted for their late arrival in South Carolina on January 4, 1782.[126]

The veteran Kirkwood and other officers and soldiers of the Delaware Regiment which had been slowly recuperating from their last engagement, Eutaw Springs, were probably overjoyed at the sight of these Delaware recruits. Upon the arrival of the recruits from Yorktown, Captain Kirkwood, Captain Peter Jacquett, Lieutenant Thomas Anderson, Lieutenant James Campbell, with the regiment's invalids and several other Delaware noncommissioned officers and soldiers, sought and obtained furloughs to go home. Indeed, they deserved it after six years of hard service. The command of the two companies was turned over to Captains McKennan and Quenouault and Lieutenants Bennett and Hyatt.[127]

For the following eleven months, the Delawares served as infantry support for Lieutenant Colonel William Washington's cavalry. Little action ensued, but they were kept constantly "on the alert . . . watching the movements of the enemy."[128] Although little fighting took place, the activity of being almost constantly on the march during the hot, humid summer days was extremely fatiguing and resulted in widespread sickness among the troops.

In the fall of 1782 the British fleet arrived at Charleston harbor with the apparent intention of evacuating the British troops from that last major foothold in the South. However, before the evacuation was accomplished, the Delaware regiment was alerted for the march back home.

126. Ward, *Delaware Continentals*, p. 477.
127. *Ibid.*, pp. 477-78.
128. Bennett, "Delaware Regiment in the Revolution," p. 459.

Sick and weary as they were, they began the long trek back to Delaware from their encampment on the Ashley River, South Carolina, on November 16, 1782. Two months and seven hundred twenty miles later they arrived at Christiana Bridge.[129]

129. Ward, *Delaware Continentals*, pp. 480, 482.

The Charter of the Academy of Newark

By Beverly McAnear*

In 1744 the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia assumed control of an academy which had been founded the year before by the Reverend Francis Alison at New London, Chester County, Pennsylvania. This action was taken by the synod partly as an "Old Light" reply to "New Light" enterprises in higher education and partly as an effort to secure an adequate supply of educated ministers. In 1752 Alison left this school to accept a post in the newly founded Academy of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania). A new master, the Reverend Alexander McDowell, was thereupon chosen, and he moved the institution to his home in Cecil County, Maryland. This school was a grammar school; it emphasized instruction in Latin and Greek, but arithmetic, geometry, and logic were also taught. Those who planned to become ministers were encouraged to enter a college upon completion of the academy's course; those who wished to become lawyers and doctors usually were "contented with ye Proficiency they make at this School" and obtained their professional training as apprentices.[1]

From the point of view of the "Old Light" Presbyterians, the great problem was the selection of the college which the divinity students would attend. An effort was made to direct them to Yale, but Yale was a long distance away and students tended to enroll in the college nearest to their homes. Furthermore, Yale during the 1750's espoused the "New Light" cause and therefore was theologically undesirable. Fond hopes were held that the addition of a nondenominational college to the Academy of Philadelphia in 1755 would meet the needs of the "Old Light" Presbyterians. Unfortunately for

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1. George H. Ryden, "The Relation of the Newark Academy of Delaware to the Presbyterian Church and to Higher Education in the American Colonies," *Delaware Notes*, IX, 13, 15, 21-22; Franklin Bowditch Dexter, ed., *Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles . . .* (New Haven, 1916), p. 433.

their hopes, the headship of the institution was given to an Episcopalian clergyman, Dr. William Smith. Smith was a zealous proselyter for his denomination and immediately undertook to identify the college and its students with the Church of England. In this crusade he was inadvertently aided by the "New Light" Presbyterian divines, who dealt the Philadelphia alumni "hard measures . . . under a pretence of examining their stiles, so that they can hardly find settlements or pass tryals. . . ." Furthermore, Philadelphia students got "a taste for high life & many of them do not like to bear ye poverty & dependence of our ministers." As a result, the number of Philadelphia graduates who accepted ordination in the Church of England increased and those seeking a charge in the Presbyterian Church decreased. In the closing months of 1766, the dissatisfaction of the "Old Light" Presbyterians with Philadelphia came to a head. Three alumni, apparently sons of Presbyterians, sailed for London to be ordained as priests in the Anglican Church; "this makes parents uneasy . . ." and "has inflamed our people with indignation against our College (of Philada.)."[2]

The first alternative adopted by the "Old Lights" was to attempt to reach a settlement with the educational stronghold of the "New Light" Presbyterians, the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University. The "Old Lights" proposed that a faculty representing both factions be appointed; the president was to have been an "Old Light," the professor of divinity a "New Light." In return, the "Old Lights" promised to collect funds to restore solvency to the institution. This plan the trustees of New Jersey treated "contemptuously," electing as president John Witherspoon, then preaching at Paisley, Scotland. The "Old Lights" were now in a quandary: they could wait until they could discover whether Witherspoon would heal the breach, or they could develop the "Old Light" grammar school into a college. They determined upon waiting for Witherspoon. But the Scot declined the invitation,

2. *Extracts from the Itineraries . . . of Ezra Stiles*, pp. 428, 430, 559; Ryden, "Relation of Newark Academy to the Presbyterian Church and Higher Education," p. 15; Wm. S[mith to Thomas Secker], Philadelphia, June 25, 1765, (copy), Smith Papers, I, 47, Archives of Protestant Episcopal Church, New-York Historical Society (hereafter referred to as NYHS).

and the New Jersey trustees on September 30, 1767, proceeded to reorganize the faculty in such a way that the "New Lights" were left in overwhelming control. Under these circumstances, negotiations with the Princeton college were dropped and the "Old Lights" immediately determined upon founding a college of their own.[3]

By 1766 the "Old Lights" grammar school had already been moved from Maryland to Newark, Delaware. Such a change was made partly because students might come more easily from Philadelphia, and partly because the cheaper living costs of a village made the school more attractive to parents. Within a short time after moving to Newark, the school had over sixty students. It was the plan of the Philadelphia "Old Lights" to superimpose a college upon this grammar school, a familiar form of academic organization of that day and one necessary to assure the entrance of properly prepared students.[4]

The first step necessary to found the college was to secure a charter. Only through powers granted in this document could the college grant degrees. Furthermore, the charter would constitute the trustees as a corporation, a measure required to safeguard the institution's property. When Lieutenant-Governor John Penn was approached, he made no objection other than to require the assent of the proprietor, Thomas Penn, who was in England. So the charter was sent to him by William Allen, the chief justice of Pennsylvania and a leader of the proprietarial party. In his covering letter Allen not only discoursed upon the value of higher education but also mentioned that the Presbyterians were the backbone of the proprietarial party in Pennsylvania. Penn did not hurry a reply, and, when he did answer, he complained that the proposed charter "aims too high, as to be an Academy or College. . . ." The actual fact was that Penn thought very little of higher education for Americans. Further, the docu-

3. *Extracts from the Itineraries . . . of Ezra Stiles*, pp. 429-31, 559, 560; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746-1896* (Princeton, N. J., 1946), pp. 48-51.

4. *Extracts from the Itineraries . . . of Ezra Stiles*, pp. 433, 558, 559; Ryden, "Relation of Newark Academy to the Presbyterian Church and Higher Education," pp. 24-25.

ment did not limit the amount of property that might be owned by the corporation. Penn insisted that this limitation be placed at £500 sterling, although when the charter was actually signed, the provision had been raised to £700 sterling. Finally, the draft permitted the site of the college to be fixed at the will of the trustees. Apparently Penn had no intent of permitting direct competition with the College of Philadelphia, and he therefore insisted that the charter name the site of the college. As a result, the Presbyterians elected to have inserted into the charter the name of the village where their grammar school was then located. It was not a happy choice; in the years to come, it was "often talked of to remove the School from New-Ark. . . ." Sadly enough, one of Newark's leading defenders found a major argument in the philosophic remark, "Other places will have theire dificultys also. . . ."[5]

After brooding over his objections for a year and a half, Penn returned the draft to his nephew, the lieutenant-governor, with instructions to grant a charter but only one which met the proprietor's qualifications.[6] Penn's directive must have been known in Philadelphia by June, 1769, but the patent did not pass the seals until November 10, 1769. In form it was almost identical with the first charter of 1753 for the Academy of Philadelphia;[7] unquestionably the lawyer who drafted the Newark charter used only that of Philadelphia for a model. Usually the charter of a new college was printed as a means of attracting attention and money; if this procedure was followed at Newark, no copy has been preserved. There-

5. Tho[mas] Penn to [William] Smith, London, Aug. 7, 1767, Smith Papers, II, 53, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter referred to as HSP); Will[iam] Allen to Thomas Penn, Philadelphia, Oct. 8, 1767, Will[iam] Allen to [Thomas Penn], Philadelphia, Oct. 12, 1768, Penn Papers, Official, X, 116, 118, 176, HSP; T[homas] P[enn] to [William] Allen, London, Apr. 16, 1768, May 12, 1769, Penn Letter Books, IX, 244, X, 4, HSP; Th[omas] Coombe to [William] Smith, London, March 12, 1770, Smith Papers, I, Archives of Protestant Episcopal Church, NYHS; John Evans to John Ewing, June 4, 1783, Emmet 940, New York Public Library; Albert F. Gegenheimer, *William Smith . . .* (Philadelphia, 1943), p. 38; Edward P. Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1940* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 31, 32.

6. T[homas] P[enn] to [William] Allen, London, May 12, 1769, Penn Letter Books, X, 4, HSP.

7. From the Newark charter there was dropped the stipulation to be found in the Philadelphia grant that the officers of the school should reside in Pennsylvania and within five miles of the institution. Francis N. Thorpe, *Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania*, United States Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, No. 2, 1892 (Washington, D. C., 1893), pp. 68-70.

fore, this printing is the first publication of the complete document, now held by the Library of the University of Delaware.[8]

THOMAS PENN and RICHARD PENN Esquires, true and absolute Proprietaries and Governors in Chief of the Counties of New Castle Kent and Sussex on Delaware and the province of Pennsylvania; To all unto whom these Presents shall come Greeting. WHEREAS the Reverend Messieurs John Thompson Adam Boyd Robert Cross Francis Alison Alexander McDowel and some others about twenty Years since erected a public School in the Province of Pennsylvania for the Instruction of Youth in the learned Languages Mathematicks and other branches of useful Literature and to Qualify them for an Admission into Colleges and Universities Which School they supported with much Care and Expence to the great Advantage and Benefit of the public: AND WHEREAS the said School so as aforesaid originally erected in the Province of Pennsylvania hath been removed and is now kept in the Town of New Ark in the County of New Castle: AND WHEREAS the Reverend Doctor Francis Alison the Reverend Mr. Alexander McDowel the Reverend Mr. William McKennen the Reverend Mr. John Ewing the Reverend Mr. Patrick Alison Doctor Hugh Williamson and Mr Charles Thomson Merchant have represented to us that their good Intentions will be much facilitated and their laudable Undertaking greatly assisted if We would be pleased to Incorporate a Number of Persons engaged in the said Design and appoint them Trustees of the said School with perpetual Succession and have humbly requested of Us so to do and to erect the said School into an Academy and to grant to it such Powers and Priviledges as may be thought necessary for the Promotion of Learning and the well ruling and ordering thereof. NOW KNOW YE that WE favouring the said Design and being Sensible of the Advantage which may accrue to the said Counties and Province from this Institution and for other good Causes and Considerations Us hereunto especially moving, HAVE granted ordained declared constituted and appointed and for Us our Heirs and Successors by these Presents DO grant ordain declare constitute and appoint that the Honourable William Allen Esquire the Reverend Doctor Francis Alison the Re[v]erend[9] Mr. Alexander McDowel the Reverend Mr. John Ewing the Reverend Mr. William McKennen the Reverend Mr. Patrick Alison the Reverend Mr. Matthew Wilson Doctor Hugh Williamson Mr. Charles Thomson Andrew Allen Esquire Thomas McKean Esquire Mr. James Mease Merchant and John Evans Esquire and such others as shall from time to time be chosen nominated or Elected by them shall be one Community Corporation or Body Politic to have Continuance

8. Permission to print the charter was given by Dr. W. S. Carlson during his period of service as President, University of Delaware

for ever by the Name of the Trustees of the ACADEMY OF NEWARK and by that name shall have perpetual Succession and that they and their Successors by that Name shall be capable and able in Law to purchase have take receive and enjoy to them and their Successors in Fee and Perpetuity or for any other or lesser Estate or Estates any Manors Lands Tenements Rents Annuities pensions or other Hereditaments within the said Counties of New Castle Kent and Sussex on Delaware or province of Pennsylvania by the Gift Grant Bargain Sale Alienation Enfeeoffment Release Confirmation or Devise of any Person or Persons Bodies Politic or Corporate capable to make the same and further that they may take and receive any Sum or Sums of Money or any kind manner or Portion of Goods or Chattels that shall to them be given granted or bequeathed by any Person or Persons Bodies Politic or Corporate capable to make a Gift Grant or Bequest to the Value of seven hundred pounds Sterling yearly Income free of all deductions and Expences and to sell and dispose of the same Estates real and personal at their pleasure therewith to maintain and support the said Academy of Newark and the same to preserve uphold and continue in the said Town of Newark in the County of New Castle and not elsewhere. AND We do hereby grant and Ordain that the said Trustees and their Successors by the name aforesaid shall be able in Law to Sue and be Sued plead and be impleaded answer and be answered unto defend and be defended in any Court or Courts before any Judge Judges or Justices within the said Counties and Province in all and all manner of Suits Complaints pleas Causes matters and Demands of whatso[e]ver kind form or Nature they be and all and every other matters and Things therein to do in as full ample and effectual a manner as any other Person or Persons Bodies politic or Corporate within that part of the Kingdom of Great Britain called England or within the said Counties and Province in like Cases may or can do. AND We do hereby give and grant unto the said Trustees and their Successors full power and Authority to constitute a President Treasurer and Secretary and to appoint from time to time a Rector and other Teachers in the said Academy and also to make have and use a common Seal with such Stamp and Inscription as they shall think proper and the same to change break alter and renew at their pleasure. AND further in order to continue and perpetuate the said Community and Corporation We do grant ordain and declare that when any one or more of the present or future Trustees of the said Academy shall neglect attending the meetings of the Corporation for the space of three Years or shall happen to Die or otherwise be disabled from performing the Office and Duty of a Trustee or Trustees the other Trustees shall as soon after as they conveniently can proceed to Elect and chuse one or more fit person or persons to fill the place or places of such

absenting deceased or disabled person or persons AND We do also for Us our Heirs and Successors g[i]ve[9] and grant to the said Trustees and Corporation and their Successors or a majority of them for the Time being full Power and Authority in all Time and Times coming to make ordain and enact all such Rules Ordinances Laws and Statutes and from Time to Time to alter and amend the same as they shall judge most convenient reasonable and needful for the good Government of the said Community the management of the affairs thereof and the effectual Promotion of the good Ends hereby intended; PROVIDED always that the said Rules Ordinances Laws and Statutes be not repugnant to the Laws and Statutes then in force in the Kingdom of Great Britain or to the Laws then in force in the said Counties AND lastly We do for Us and Our Successors grant declare and ordain that these Our Letters Patent and Charter and every Clause Sentence and Article herein contained shall be in all Things firm Valid sufficient and effectual in the Law unto them the said Trustees Community and Corporation and their Successors according to the purport and Tenor hereof without any further Grant or Toleration from Us our Heirs or Successors to be procured or obtained. IN TESTIMONY whereof JOHN PENN Esquire Lieutenant Governor of the said Counties and province by virtue of certain powers and Authorities to him for this purpose inter alia granted by Us hath hereunto set his Hand, and caused the Great Seal of the said Counties to be hereunto affixed, at Philadelphia, the tenth Day of November in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty nine and in the tenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &ca.

John Penn [signature][10]

It will be noted that this charter, while it did not limit the type of school to be set up by the trustees, did not grant the right to award degrees. In most instances the denial of this privilege would have blocked all hope of maintaining a college. Philadelphia's lack of this power had made it so difficult to attract students to its most advanced school that in 1755 the trustees had gained from Thomas Penn another charter permitting them to vote degrees.[11] Despite Newark's handicap, incorporation was no sooner secured than the academy's officers organized a "philosophical" school, the Phila-

9. Tear in the parchment.

10. The original seal is still attached. On the verso is a note that the document was recorded at New Castle, Delaware, June 4, 1800.

11. Richard Peters to [Thomas Penn], Philadelphia, Dec. 23, 1754, Penn Papers, Official, VI, 251-53, HSP.

delphia term for its college. The public announcements of the commencements of 1773, 1774, and 1775 indicate that philosophical and grammar schools were not only separate but that the philosophical school was the more advanced, in brief, it was a college. And at these commencements there were all the trimmings of a college graduation—public examination, exercises, and diplomas, but no degrees. Of the work done in this school, we know nothing except that the Reverend John Ewing claimed that the same fields of knowledge were taught at Newark as at the College of New Jersey.[12] In 1772 John Wilson announced the opening at the academy of an English school, essentially a primary school with the addition of a few "most useful branches," such as "Merchants Accounts," navigation, and surveying. These three schools were staffed by a professor of mathematics and philosophy, a rector, and two tutors.[13]

The academy's organization by this time substantially duplicated Philadelphia's,[14] and if the Philadelphia model was followed closely the course in the philosophy school was three years in length. If this assumption is correct, instruction in Newark's college probably had begun by 1770. Prior to the Revolution the academy graduated from this advanced school three classes totalling eighteen men. Apparently natives of Delaware were always in the minority, and in the class of 1775 four of the nine graduates came from either Virginia or North Carolina. This achievement in student recruitment was markedly superior to those of Philadelphia or Queen's (Rutgers).[15]

12. Ryden, "Relation of Newark Academy to the Presbyterian Church and Higher Education," p. 36; *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet . . .*, Nov. 1, 1773, Oct. 24, 1774, Oct. 9, 1775.

13. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 28, 1772; Thomas C. Pears, Jr., "Francis Alison, Colonial Educator," *Delaware Notes*, XVII, 21.

14. The principal leaders in the movement to found a college at Newark had been intimately connected with the Academy of Philadelphia.

15. *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet*, Nov. 1, 1773, Oct. 24, 1774, Oct. 9, 1775.

News Notes and Book Reports

By means of a popular subscription from its members, the Historical Society of Delaware has been fortunate indeed to be able to purchase the silver coffee pot once belonging to Caesar Rodney, which has hitherto been on loan from its owner, Mme Maurice Brix, of North Wales, Pennsylvania, to the Society for display. The pot, which is 12 1/2 inches tall, with an engraved monogram CR in reversed cipher in large florated lettering in script, is thought to have been made by Stephen Reeves, who worked in several of the middle colonies.

In the inventory and appraisement of the estate of Caesar Rodney, dated July 20, 1784, in the manuscript collection of the Society, the item is described as follows: "In the Parlour ..... 1 silver coffee pott at 53 oz 6 P 12 g [valued] at 12/pr oz [equals] 31....19....10". This weight given in the inventory is not that of the coffee pot alone but of it plus a stand, according to the weighing of the silver plate of "C. Rodney decd," made by P. Alford, a goldsmith. Alford listed in a manuscript, also owned by the Society, "One Coffee Pot Wt 42 oz 6 P and stand for same Wt 11 oz 0 P 12 g [totaling] 53 oz 6 P 12 g."

In Caesar Rodney's will, dated January 20, 1784, he bequeathed his plate, in equal portions but without specifying the items, to his niece Lavinia Rodney, his half-sister Sarah Wilson, and his brother William. William received his share in a monetary settlement, and the coffee pot with certain other pieces was given to Lavinia. Mme Brix purchased the pot at the sale of items from the Rodney estate, held in New York City, October 4, 1919.

At the annual meeting of the members of the Historical Society on April 17, Dr. Lawrence H. Gipson, research professor of history of Lehigh University and past president of the Pennsylvania Historical Association, illuminated the political position of John Dickinson in the eighteenth century-wide debate on imperial controls. Author of the seven-volume definitive work, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution,* Dr. Gipson evaluated Dickinson's arguments opposing the British policies of 1754-1763 by setting them beside the actualities of power politics as revealed in the documents of that time. Judged in this light, Dickinson appeared to be more the popular publicist and less the political theorist. France, to which he called for aid to defend American liberty against the encroachments of "British tyranny," was in fact still controlled by the heir of Bourbon centralization, while Britain

was levying new taxes, which Dickinson criticized, to pay the costs of a war which opened the West to the Mississippi for the colonists. Although conceding that Dickinson's reasoning was based on false premises, Dr. Gipson pointed out that those same discourses accorded with the needs and current situation of the colonists, whose economy had outgrown the imperial system of that time.

During the evening, the directors and those members of the Historical Society who could be persuaded to pose, were photographed in silhouette. These photographs were later displayed to contrast with the techniques used by Benjamin Ferris in the 1830s and the Misses Rachel and Anne Garrett in the 1880s and 1900, whose silhouettes are also owned by the Society. During the serving of light refreshments in the upper hall, where Lafayette was also entertained in 1824, the electric current failed, and the members of the Society were reduced to the use of candlelight, thus suggesting the atmosphere of a century ago.

"The Issue of American Independence," as it was debated on the floor of the Continental Congress during a sultry day in Philadelphia, July 1, 1776, was presented by Dr. John H. Powell, of Philadelphia, on March 29, on the campus of the University of Delaware. The lecture, the fourth in a series on subjects of Delaware interest, was arranged by the Department of History of the University and sponsored by the Institute of Delaware History and Culture. Fortunately, we have the address on the issue of American independence by John Dickinson, who oppposed such a declaration at that time from the basis not of theory but of tactics in international diplomacy and national politics. Could we become independent without a warning of our precipitant action to our allies, France and Spain? Could we do so without first establishing a cohesive and effectual Government? Dickinson thought not. The impassioned answer of John Adams, never recorded, to his and our regret, dissolved the majority's scruples on these matters and facilitated the passage of the resolution for independence. Dr. Powell, the author of *Bring Out Your Dead,* a history of the Yellow Fever epidemic of 1798, is engaged at the present in preparing a biography of John Dickinson.

The members of the Institute of Delaware History and Culture met on May 6 to consider Delaware interest in the field of folklore and folkways. Addresses offering the examples set by other states and possibilities for an approach in Delaware were given by Dr. Louis C. Jones, director of the New York State Historical Society, and Dr. Moritz Jagendorf, president of the New York Folklore Society, and a folksong recital was presented by Alan

Lomax, nationally known collector of such songs. The newly elected officers of the Institute are as follows: Dr. R. O. Bausman, chairman; Dr. Arthur R. Dunlap, secretary; Dr. John A. Munroe and Mrs. Bernita S. Gerster, directors.

Subsequently, at a meeting held in Dover on June 6, the Delaware Folklore Society was organized and the following officers elected: Dr. John A. Munroe, president; Harold W. T. Purnell, vice president; Charles W. Dickens, secretary. Each of the three counties will be represented by a director; the present representation includes: Anthony Higgins, of New Castle; Mrs. Henry Ridgely, of Kent County; and William T. Bennett, of Sussex County. The Society is devoting its attention to the collection and popularization of a knowledge of all those aspects of the culture of Delaware which were traditional and handed down by word of mouth, rather than by the printed page.

In order to save the old fort on Pea Patch Island, off Delaware City, as an historic shrine, the Fort Delaware Society was formed with the hope that the island and fort might be made a national park, since Delaware is one of two states in the country without one. On May 27, 1813, under pressure of a threatened invasion by the British, Delaware deeded the island to the federal government, which returned Pea Patch Island to the state of Delaware March 23, 1948, but acceptance of the island awaits action by the 1951 General Assembly. The first fort, built in 1831, was burned, and work on a new fort was suspended during a boundary dispute between Delaware and New Jersey concerning the jurisdiction of the Delaware River and its bed. In 1843 the suit was decided in favor of Delaware, but the construction for the new fortifications was not completed until 1859. Twelve thousand Confederate prisoners were imprisoned here during the Civil War. Fort Delaware was also garrisoned by troops during the Spanish-American War and World Wars I and II but was relinquished as a military base by the Army in 1945. The office of the U. S. Engineers in Philadelphia has given to the Delaware State Archives Commission some plate glass negatives of the fort in the 1890's and is collecting old maps and construction blue prints for presentation to the commission. The Historical Society has lent for display at meetings of the Fort Delaware Society some photographs of the old fort as it appeared during the Civil War and a sketch by Max Neugas, dated November 1, 1864. On May 27 the members of the Society met for an outing to Pea Patch Island, where a history of the fort was presented by W. Emerson Wilson, president, who had prepared it from research in reminiscences and letters of troops and prisoners stationed on the island. A copy

of this history is on file in the library of the Historical Society. Other officers of the Fort Delaware Society are as follows: William P. Frank, secretary; Brigadier General Norman M. Lack, treasurer; and, as members of a research committee, Dr. H. Clay Reed, chairman, Leon deValinger, Jr., General Lack, Carl T. Bridgman, and Alfred Gemmell.

The gift of a deed to the University of Delaware has revealed that, contrary to a former assumption, the first building of the Newark Academy, which ultimately became the University of Delaware, had been constructed by 1770. The University has received from the Security Trust Company, of Wilmington, the deed, dated March 21, 1770, for a tract of land in Newark on which an academy building was then standing. The owner, Jonathan German or Garmin, of West New Jersey, sold the land for 18£ 10s to the trustees of the academy, John Evans, Samuel Platt, Hernry Darby, Hugh Glasford, James Anderson, and William Armstrong. The tract had originally been a portion of a land grant of 223 acres, dated September 11, 1702, by Thomas and Richard Penn to John Guest. Other owners during the eighteenth century included Samuel Lowman, Samuel Johnston, Naphtali and Dan Johnston, Rachel Jones, David Davis, Edward Miles, William Eynow, and William McCrea. This indenture states that the inhabitants of the town of Newark had built a "Commodious House" for the education of youth in the learned languages, arts, and sciences. A history of the issuance of the charter for the academy is presented by Beverly McAnear in this issue of *Delaware History*.

Miss Jeannette Eckman, of Wilmington, an authority on Delaware history, was appointed March 13 to be director as well as historian for the New Castle Tercentenary celebration to be held in June, 1951. In addition, Miss Eckman is also engaged in research on New Castle for Historic New Castle, Inc., and has recently published a new edition of the 1936 publication, *New Castle on the Delaware,* the original edition of which was compiled under her direction. The Dutch Tercentenary Commission, assisted by a twenty-member executive committee of townspeople, will celebrate the anniversary of the building of Fort Casimir near the present ferry wharf by the Dutch under Peter Stuyvesant in 1651.

The Presbyterian Church in New Castle was rededicated on June 25 as one part of the broad program designed to restore the original colonial appearance of the town. The commemorative address by Dr. John W. Christie, which centered about the history of the church, inaugurated a weeklong series of services, including an historical pageant on June 29.

As usual, historic homes and gardens were on display in Delaware this spring when houses were opened to the public in Dover, May 6, Odessa, May 14, and New Castle, May 20. Prominent among the various displays of silver, china, manuscripts of public and private documents, and furniture in the homes included in the several scheduled tours, was an exhibit in the Old Academy on the Green in New Castle of furniture which once stood in the original George Read House on the Strand.

The Historical Society has added to its Caesar Rodney manuscript collections a holograph letter of his, dated July 27, 1775, to a friend concerning the British reaction to the news of the battle of Lexington. Meanwhile, Rodney was certain the Continental Congress would sit despite the fact that its members were "heartily tired — and so am I." Though a member of the Congress, Rodney found time to shop for his friend but found nothing "that struck my fancy, or that I thought would please a man of your taste either for neatness or intrinsic value, though we all agree you are no macaroni," or dandy.

Among other manuscripts received by the Society in recent months was a manuscript book compiled by Thomas Rodney and containing a partial diary from May 20 to July 4, 1795, and legal memoranda. Most interesting is his resume of two petitions received by the Committee of Inspection and Observation for Kent, dated June 8, 1776, and of the history of Bassett's Insurrection, June 10, 1776. A manuscript book containing the constitution, by-laws, and code of ethics of the Medical Association of Delaware and a minutes book of the association, recording its activities from 1851 to 1890, were contributed by William Baldwin. Miss Ida T. Windish, of Roselle, Delaware, presented five manuscript books containing the constitution of the Reliance Fire Company of Wilmington and minutes of the company for the period 1796-1873. The manuscript muster roll of Company C, Fifth Regiment of the Delaware Infantry, U. S. A., June, 1863, was given to the Society by Mrs. Florence McComb James of Claymont.

To its collection of rare books, the Society has added the *Letters to a Nobleman, on the Conduct of the War in the Middle Colonies,* by Joseph Galloway and printed in 1779 by J. Wilkie in London. The letters were devoted to revealing the "shameful misconduct" of the British campaigns during the American Revolution and to disproving the necessity for dismembering the Empire. "We have seen them [American Loyalists] in the Colonies of . . . the Delaware counties . . . patiently suffering, for a time, under their oppressions, and at length, large bodies, with a few concealed arms, pitchforks, and

clubs, indiscreetly rising in favour of [the British] Government." The work contains a map, extending from Wilmington to Skippack Creek, showing the plan of operations of the British and American armies in the 1777 campaign.

The index of Volume I of *Delaware History* has been completed and mailed to those members of the Society who have copies of that volume. Indexing of the following volumes of the magazine is now under way.

A dissertation concerning the public career of the late Willard Saulsbury, Jr., United States senator, 1913-1919, is being prepared by Herbert H. Finch, of the History Department of the University of Delaware. Mr. Finch has made use of the large collection of Saulsbury papers at the University, but he is, in addition, in need of assistance from Delawareans who have correspondence or other material relating to the contributions in public office of this Senator, his father, and uncles.

New Publications of Delaware Interest

A happy result of planning for the three-hundredth anniversary of the founding of New Castle, which will be celebrated in 1951, is the appearance of the Dutch Tercentenary Edition of *New Castle on the Delaware,* edited with some additions by Jeannette Eckman and published in April, 1950, by the New Castle Historical Society. The first edition of this book, which was originally compiled by the Delaware Federal Writers' Project for the American Guide Series, was published in December, 1936, and a second edition appeared in April, 1937. Among the changes in the new edition are a new introduction by Judge Richard S. Rodney and very attractive end papers presenting perspectives of New Castle scenes from the drawings of the architects for Historical New Castle, Inc.

The *Tancopanican Chronicle, 1830-1834,* edited and published by Louise duPont Crowninshield and Pierre S. duPont, Wilmington, 1949, is a unique and valuable souvenir, which was prepared for the duPont family reunion held in January, 1950. Based on four house-guest books kept in an informal fashion by Victorine Elizabeth duPont Bauduy, Eleuthera duPont, and Sophie Madeleine duPont, the chronicle introduces 383 guests who made 877 visits to Eleutherian Mills, the home of Eleuthere Irenee duPont, in the slightly more than four years that it covers. The publication consists of seven booklets: an introduction, the text of the four house-guest books, an index, and extended explanatory notes. The whole is an important contribution to the social history of Delaware.

A new three-volume work, *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia,* Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York, 1950, the first two volumes of which were prepared by Charles B. Clark, contains much Delaware material, particularly in such fields as transportation history and Indian lore. Especially interesting to Delawareans is the account of plans to merge the Eastern Shore with the State of Delaware, an account written by James C. Mullikin in a chapter entitled "The Separatist Movement and Related Problems, 1776-1851."

Material relating to Benjamin F. Biggs, Eleazer McComb, Cheney Clow, and the Gilpins, as well as to the history of transportation and of slavery in Delaware, may be found in *Queen Anne's County, Maryland: Its Early History and Development,* written by Frederic Emory and published by the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, 1950. This detailed study was prepared in the nineteenth century for publication in a Centreville newspaper, but until now it has not been easily available to scholars. Its value rests in great part upon its author's careful culling of old files of local newspapers.

A third Maryland source of Delaware history is the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. In its issue for March, 1950, appears an article by Kenneth Carroll on "Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites of Caroline County, Maryland," which includes a list of Nicholite birth records. Although Caroline was the center of this peculiar eighteenth-century sect, some of the Nicholites lived in Delaware, and the founder of their faith was born near Dover. In the same magazine for September, 1949, is an account of "Washington Academy, Somerset County, Maryland," by Raymond B. Clark, Jr. In its early years this academy drew some of its faculty and students from Delaware; its principal from 1799 to 1808 and from 1811 to 1814 was James Laird, of Wilmington. The December, 1949, issue carries accounts of John Yeo and John Urmston, clergymen who served for a time in Delaware, in an article by the Reverend Dr. Nelson Waite Rightmyer, "The Character of the Anglican Clergy of Colonial Maryland."

Upstate, Downstate: Folk Stories of the Middle Atlantic States, by Moritz Jagendorf, published by the Vanguard Press, New York, 1949, contains eight Delaware folk tales: "Herman and His Horse," "The Fiddler of Fiddler's Bridge," "Fiery-Tempered Jake," "The Enemy in the Night," "Dutch Peter and the Fortunetelling Tailor," "Fearless John and the Giant

Monster," "The Ghost of Samuel Chew," and "Arnsy Maull, the Conjure Man."

"Joshua Fisher's 'Chart of Delaware Bay and River' " is carefully studied by Lawrence C. Wroth in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for January, 1950. Fisher's chart was for nearly a century after its publication in 1756 the chief printed guide to navigation of Delaware Bay; its author, born in Delaware though later resident in Philadelphia, probably became interested in pilotage during his residence as hatter and trader at Lewes. The same magazine contains "The Disputed Authorship of the Declaration on the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms, 1775," by Julian P. Boyd, in which the relative merits of the contributions of John Dickinson and Thomas Jefferson are assessed, with conclusions generally favorable to Dickinson.

A biographical sketch of George Alfred Townsend, by Lida Mayo, serves as introduction to *Rustics in Rebellion: A Yankee Reporter on the Road to Richmond, 1861-65,* the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1950, which reproduces most of *Campaigns of a Non-Combatant,* Townsend's newspaper stories, originally published in book form in 1866.

Vocational Education in Delaware, 1919-1949, published by the State Board for Vocational Education, Dover, is an illustrated report on the history of the Delaware Division of Vocational Education prepared to mark its thirtieth anniversary. The vocational education program in Delaware was initiated by the Delaware School Code of 1919 in conformity with the provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act, and the director of this program since its inception has been Raymond W. Heim, who has also served as professor of agricultural education at the University of Delaware.

Dr. W. Edwin Bird has expanded his previous studies of local medical history in an article entitled "New Light on the History of Medicine in Delaware," published in a supplement to the January, 1950, issue of the *Delaware State Medical Journal.*

The first, or summer, 1950, issue of *Delaware Cavalcade,* a new quarterly magazine published by the Delaware State Development Department, Dover, offers articles relating to the following aspects of state history: the Delaware poultry industry, by Frank Adler; New Castle, by C. A. Weslager; the Kent-Sussex Fair, by E. E. Davis; Fort Delaware, by William P. Frank; and Delaware Park, by Al Fahey.

An interesting "History of Sacred Heart Church" appears in an anniversary book, *Diamond Jubilee of Sacred Heart Church, Tenth and Madison Streets, Wilmington, Delaware.* The history of this church, which has always been in the charge of the Benedictine Order, is part of the story of German immigrants, for whom it was organized in 1874. It also reveals an almost forgotten detail of the history of local education, the founding of St. Bede's High School, which was conducted in connection with the church from 1883 to 1885.

The Sussex Countian, Georgetown weekly, in its issue of June 15, 1950, prints eight commencement addresses by graduates of the Georgetown High School which deal with various phases of the history of Georgetown from 1900 to 1950.

"Charles Springer of Christina," an article by Courtland B. Springer and Ruth L. Springer, appears in the *American Swedish Historical Foundation Yearbook, 1949,* published in Philadelphia.

Among recent genealogical publications relating to Delaware are the "Heverin Bible Records," edited by George V. Vassey II, in the *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* for December, 1949; the "Massey Bible Records," prepared by the same editor for the same magazine in October, 1948; and records of the "Stewarts in Sussex County, Delaware," edited by George Edson, in the *Stewart Clan Magazine,* published at Olathe, Kansas, for May, June, and July, 1950.

A Directory of the Book-Arts and the Book Trade in Philadelphia to 1820, Including Painters and Engravers, by H. Glenn Brown and Maude O. Brown, published by the New York Public Library, 1950, is obviously of interest to Delawareans because of the great importance of Philadelphia in the cultural life of Delaware in early years. Joshua Fisher, Oliver Evans, Samuel Relf, Adolph Wertmuller, and James Adams are among the names listed.

A second edition, revised and greatly enlarged, of the *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,* published by that society, Philadelphia, 1949, furnishes invaluable assistance to the discovery of its collections of Delawareana.

Henry Howard Eddy's *Guide to the Published Archives of Pennsylvania,* published by the Division of Public Records of the Pennsylvania Historical

and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1949, explores the resources of 138 volumes of Pennsylvania records. Because of the close colonial connection — indeed partial amalgamation — of Pennsylvania and Delaware, this volume serves as a key to the rich stores of Delawareana locked in the archives of our northern neighbor.